PORTRAITS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE TANJORE ...RAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

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PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF PARTS XIII. TO XVI.

FORMING

VOLUME IV.

*** *The following arrangement of Subjects is Chronological, according to the periods at which they deceased. The dates agreeing with those upon the engravings, will serve as guides in turning to any individual Portrait or Memoir. At the close of the work* a General Chronological, *as well as an* Alphabetical Arrangement, *will be printed, when these* temporary *Tables of Contents, which will be inserted in every fourth Part, to enable Subscribers to put their copies into boards for better preservation or convenience of reference, may be destroyed, as the work cannot be properly arranged for Binding until the whole is completed.*

1. CARDINAL BEATOUN, - - - - - 1546
From the Original in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

2. THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY, HOLBEIN. 1549
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

3. JOHN KNOX, - - - - - - 1572
From the Original in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

4. EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN, - KETEL. 1584
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

5. JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON, MARK GERARDS. 1604
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

CONTENTS.

6. HENRY PRINCE OF WALES, - - MYTENS. 1612
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knole.

7. HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON, ZUCCHERO. 1614
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle, at Castle-Howard.

8. CHARLES HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, - - - - 1624
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury,

9. HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, VANDYKE. 1632
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

10. RICHARD WESTON, EARL OF PORTLAND, VANDYKE. 1634
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

11. THOMAS, LORD KEEPER COVENTRY, - JANSEN. 1640
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, at Grove Park.

12. LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX, MYTENS. 1645
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knole.

13. ARTHUR LORD CAPEL, - - JANSEN. 1648
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex, at Cashiobury.

14. JAMES STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY. - VANDYKE. 1651
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, at Knowsley,

15. LUCY PERCY, COUNTESS OF CARLISLE, VANDYKE. 1660
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

CONTENTS.

16. CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOÜILLE, COUNTESS OF DERBY, - - - - VANDYKE. 1663
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, at Knowsley.

17. SIR KENELM DIGBY, - - VANDYKE. 1665
From the Original in the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

18. ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF DORSET, PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY, - - MYTENS. 1675
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Dorset, at Knole.

19. JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE, LELY. 1682
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Lauderdale, at Thirlestane Castle.

20. HENEAGE FINCH, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, LELY. 1682
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

Engraved by J. Thomson.

CARDINAL BEATOUN.

OB. 1546.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, June 1.1825.

CARDINAL BEATOUN.

David Beatoun, for his talents, for the loftiness of his spirit, for his complete monopoly of royal favour, and his unbounded power in the government both of Church and State, may be not unaptly called the Wolsey of Scotland; but he was not, like that great man, the child of obscurity, nor the builder, from the foundation, of his own fortunes. His family was even illustrious, for he was descended from the old French house of Bethune, connected by more than one marriage with the ancient Earls of Flanders, and celebrated for having produced, among other branches dignified with the same rank, that of the ever-memorable Maximilian, Duke of Sully. The credit of his name had been raised in Scotland, where his peculiar line had existed for more than two centuries in the character of respectable country gentlemen, by his uncle James Beatoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord Chancellor, a statesman of great parts and power, and he was the son of John Beatoun, of Balfour, elder brother to that Prelate, by Isabel, daughter of David Moneypenny, of Pitmilly, in the county of Fife. He was born in 1494, and received an admirable education at home, and in the university of St. Andrews, under the eye of his uncle, who sent him, when approaching manhood, to France, with the double view of completely qualifying him in the university of Paris for the ecclesiastical profession, and of introducing him advantageously to the Duke of Albany, who resided in that country, and who was then about to accept the office of Regent of Scotland during the minority of his great nephew, James the fifth. Both objects were attained. David gained the highest credit by the success of his studies, and the Duke employed him, even while he was prosecuting them, in

several affairs at the Court of France in which the public interests of Scotland were involved, and, upon the death in 1519 of the Scottish resident minister in Paris, appointed him to that office. His uncle in the mean time laboured with the most affectionate zeal to advance him at home, and, on being translated in 1523 from the Archbishopric of Glasgow to the Primacy, resigned the rich and mitred abbey of Aberbrothock; prevailed on the Regent to give it to his nephew; and on the Pope to grant him for two years a dispensation, waving the forms of acceptance required by the Church, in order that he might perform without interruption his diplomatic duties at Paris.

He returned, and took his seat in the Parliament, in 1525. During his mission important changes had occurred in the government: the Regent had been displaced, and the Primate deprived of the office of Chancellor, and driven into retirement by the party headed by the Earl of Angus, husband of the Queen Mother, but Beatoun's prospects seem to have been in no degree clouded by those circumstances, for he had not been many weeks in Scotland when he was appointed by the Parliament one of the six members from that body to whom the charge of the King's person and education was specially committed. Younger, more polite, and perhaps more artful, than his colleagues, it is not strange that the youthful James should have selected him from them for his companion and confident. As the mind of the King advanced to maturity, to these lighter impressions was added the weight of Beatoun's splendid and commanding abilities, and motives of policy soon after intervened on either side to consummate the ascendancy which he at length gained. In the mean time Angus, who had governed not only the realm but the King with a controul too sharp and haughty to be lasting, was overthrown by one of those sudden turns at that time so frequent in his country; the Primate returned, not to resume his former power in the State, but to endeavour to obtain it for his nephew, whom he now named as his coadjutor, and whom the King presently after placed

in the office of Lord Privy Seal. That appointment, which under the Scottish monarchy actually invested him who held it with all the confidence which its denomination implies, was conferred on Beatoun in 1528, and from that period he was considered to be, as in fact he was, the King's chief minister and favourite.

Scotland was then divided into two powerful and furious factions; the French, which included nearly all the clergy, and consequently a great majority of those of the common people who were not subject to the bond of clanship; and the English, consisting of a formidable number of the nobility, some of whom were actuated by personal enmity to individuals of the Court or Council; others by an habitual jealousy of foreigners; and not a few by the bribes of Henry the eighth. The young King and Beatoun became mutually attached to the former party; the one, from his sincere devotion to the ancient faith, and the horror with which he regarded the efforts directed against it by his uncle King Henry, to which seems to have been added an earnest desire to marry a Princess of France; the other, because he had entered into secret engagements with Francis the first, to secure to him a lasting alliance with Scotland, and had received from that Prince in return the most solemn assurances of friendship and favour. With these predispositions both in master and servant, James in 1533 dispatched him to Paris, professedly to demand in marriage the Princess Magdalen, sister to the King, but he was privately charged with business of higher importance, and seems in this mission to have negotiated and concluded a secret treaty with Francis, and in some measure with the Emperor, and the Pope, for the protection of the Catholic religion, and necessarily therefore in opposition to all the views then entertained by our Henry. He returned fully successful in all that he had undertaken, but the marriage was postponed in consequence of the ill state of health of the Princess at that time, nor was it celebrated till 1536, when James, attended by Beatoun, made a long visit to the Court of France, and wedded her in person.

The young Queen died within two months after her arrival in Scotland, and the King, anxious to avoid reiterated offers from Henry and the Emperor of the hand of the Princess Mary of England, sent Beatoun again to the French Court, with proposals to Mary of Lorraine, daughter to the Duke of Guise. During this negotiation, which seems to have occupied some considerable time, he received at length publicly the strongest marks of Francis's partiality. In November 1537 that Prince signed an ordinance permitting him to hold benefices, and purchase estates, in France, and presently after bestowed on him the rich Bishopric of Mirepoix, in Upper Languedoc. He returned in the following July, bringing with him the new Queen. His uncle, the Archbishop, who had become infirm, timid, and indolent, had for some years privately delegated to him almost the whole authority of the Primacy, but the natural mildness of that Prelate sometimes interposed to moderate the zeal of the Coadjutor: the reigning Pope, Paul the third, on the other hand, determined to encourage it. Hoping yet to retain to the Holy See the allegiance of Scotland, and anxious therefore to place without delay at the head of her Church a man at once wise, resolute, and active, as well as sincerely devoted to the Papacy, he selected Beatoun for that service. Willing however to leave to so ancient and faithful a son as the Primate at least the name of his dignity, the Pontiff devised the means of giving him a superior without depriving him of his See, by raising his nephew to the dignity of a Cardinal. He was elected to the Purple on the twentieth of December, 1538, and within a few months after succeeded, on the death of his uncle, to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews.

He now pressed for a special legantine commission, but the Pope answered that the Primacy annexed to his See constituted him what in the language of the Church was termed "Legatus natus," and invested him with sufficient ecclesiastical authority in Scotland. James, who had at first seconded with earnestness his suit for that distinction, seems to have desisted at the instance

of Henry. That Prince, who now considered Beatoun as a formidable adversary, had lately dispatched to Scotland Sir Ralph Sadleir, a minister not less remarkable for fidelity than acuteness, for the sole purpose of effecting his ruin, and James, though he refused, with a laudable firmness, to listen to insinuations against a favourite servant which were not only malicious but ungrounded, perhaps yet deemed it prudent to concede in this single instance to the angry feelings of his uncle. A most exact and curious recital of Sadleir's conversations with James on the subjects of his mission, highly creditable as well to the heart as to the understanding of the Scottish Prince, may be found in a letter of great length from the Ambassador to his master, in the publication of "Sadleir's State Papers."

The conduct of Beatoun under this disappointment amply proved that his attachment to the Romish Church, and to its head, was not to be shaken by any selfish considerations. He determined to prove the degree of that power which the Pope had decided to be sufficient, and in the spring of 1540 went to St. Andrews with a pomp and splendor which had never before been used by any Primate of Scotland, attended by a numerous train of the first nobility and gentry; by the Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord Chancellor; many other Prelates; and nearly the whole body of the clergy. Having arrived there, he convened them in a sort of general ecclesiastical council, under his presidency, in the cathedral; represented to them the imminent perils which threatened the Church; and laid before them the measures which he had devised for its defence. His suggestions were received with unanimous approbation, and processes were not only instituted, even in their first sitting, against several of the reformers, but a sentence of confiscation and the stake was passed on a Sir John Borthwick, one of the most distinguished among them, who, on having been previously cited to appear before this assembly, had fled into England, where he was gladly received by Henry, and soon after employed by that Prince in a mission on the affairs of the reformation to the

Protestant Courts of Germany. Borthwick was burned in effigy, his goods seized, and all intercourse with him prohibited under pain of excommunication. The Cardinal, thus encouraged, proceeded with vigour against the enemies of his Church, and, naturally enough, incurred from them the denomination and odium of a persecutor, which those who may take the trouble to disentangle the truth from the jarring and obscure historical accounts of that time, will find to have been very unjustly cast on him. The most romantic tales have been told of his furious severity. The celebrated Buchanan, who had been charged with heresy, and confined, and who, as a grave writer ridiculously observes, "would certainly have been put to death, had he not escaped out of prison," tells us that Beatoun had presented to the King a roll of three hundred and sixty of the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland as proper objects of prosecution; and in another part of his history cites a circumstance which will be presently mentioned, to shew the enormous cruelty of his natural disposition. Neither of these reports are in any degree supported by any other writer of that time; but the best apology for Beatoun's memory with respect to such charges is in the historical fact that only four or five persons suffered death on the score of religious difference during his long government of the Church of Scotland.

Certain too it is that as his influence over the mind of the King, his master, was unbounded, so was his choice of means by which to stem the torrent of the reformation wholly uncontrouled. In all political as well as religious affairs James obeyed him with the subserviency of a pupil. When Henry the eighth proposed a conference with that Prince, early in his reign, at York, James, anxious to maintain peace with his uncle, and curious to behold the splendid novelties of the English Court, eagerly accepted the invitation. The time for the meeting was fixed, and all arrangements made for his journey, when Beatoun suddenly interposed his authority, and compelled the King, to the great offence of

Henry, to break the appointment, and prepare for war. With yet more facility he induced his master to that invasion of England in 1542, which ended in the terrible overthrow of the Scots on Solway Moss. James, who survived that great misfortune but for a few weeks, is said by most historians to have died of a broken heart, occasioned by his bitter reflections on it, while a few obscure writers have insinuated that the Cardinal destroyed him by poison, a slander invented in the blindness of malice, and utterly rejected by the sobriety of common sense. His influence over James subsisted to the last hour of that Prince's life. Beatoun persuaded him, a few hours before his dissolution, to sign a will, nominating himself, and the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Arran, a Council of Regency, to govern the Kingdom in the name of the infant Mary. The validity of this instrument, which had been solemnly proclaimed in Edinburgh, was presently questioned by the English faction, and soon after annulled, on the coarse and ready pretence that it had been forged by the Cardinal. No steps were taken to prove this charge, and indeed it seems to have been a mere invention, to apologise for depriving him of that power which was now to fall for a time into the hands of his enemies. He was stripped accordingly of all authority in the government, and in a manner banished to his diocese, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was presumptive heir to the Crown, was, in the spring of 1543, chosen by the Parliament sole Regent.

The first step made by the party which had thus gained the ascendancy was to entertain a proposal made by Henry for the marriage of his son, Edward, to Mary, then in her cradle. To this of all public measures, it was known that Beatoun would be most averse. It was determined therefore, before it came to be discussed in Parliament, to prevent his attendance in that assembly, and he was suddenly seized, and imprisoned in the castle of Blackness. His conduct now unveiled the seemingly magical power which he had so long exercised, the simple result of transcendent faculties of mind, and of a courageous heart. This superiority the

ensured to him, in an age comparatively artless, the attachment of many of the first men in Scotland, who bowed instinctively to his mighty talents, and were now ready to obey his mandates, though issued through the grates of a prison. To these natural means was added the weight of his ecclesiastical influence. Arran, a weak and irresolute man, terrified at the boldness of the measure which he had been made the instrument of executing, was easily prevailed on to connive at the Cardinal's removal to St. Andrews by the Lord Seaton, to whose custody he had been committed, and whom he had gained to his interest. There, still in some measure in the character of a prisoner, he summoned a meeting of the clergy; vehemently excited their opposition to the English marriage, as the only means of preserving the Church; and, with little difficulty, engaged them to raise money for the equipment of troops, should force become necessary for the attainment of their object. Meanwhile he concerted measures with the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, and Murray, for gaining possession of the persons of the young Queen, and the Queen Dowager, who were accordingly carried off by those noblemen from Linlithgow to Stirling, and for preventing the meeting of the Parliament, in which they failed. It was convened on the 25th of August, 1543, and ratified under the great seal the treaties with England for a peace, and for the marriage, in concert with the Regent, who set out on the following day to St. Andrews, where he proclaimed the Cardinal a rebel, and in the same week met him privately, received absolution at his hands, and surrendered himself implicitly to his direction.

Beatoun, for the short remainder of his life, swayed the will of the Regent with a power even more unlimited than that to which the late King had submitted. Very soon after their reconciliation, Gawen Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, who had held the office of Chancellor for seventeen years with the highest reputation, was compelled to relinquish it to the Cardinal, who resigned that of the Privy Seal, in favour of John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, to

whose influence over Arran, his natural brother, he had been much indebted in the late singular political revolution. A single step remained at once to fulfil the dearest wish of his heart, and to crown the triumph of his ambition. He demanded of the Regent to solicit for him at the Court of Rome the appointment of Legate à latere. The request was made, and seems to have been granted, without hesitation, and he was raised to that superb ecclesiastical station on the thirtieth of January, 1543, O. S. by the same Pope who had formerly denied it to him. He commenced without delay the exercise of the extensive faculties with which it had invested him; held a solemn visitation to his own diocese, attended by the Regent, and others of the highest public functions in the realm, to enquire into the state of religious opinions and practices; endeavoured to reclaim the moderate reformers by arguments and threats; and proceeded with severity against a few self-devoted zealots whose furious demeanour had left him no choice but to abandon them or his Church to inevitable destruction. At Perth five persons, of the lowest order, were put to death, not for espousing the doctrines of the reformation, but for having insulted by the grossest indecencies the established worship of the land. On his return, he convened an assembly of the Clergy at Edinburgh, which he opened with a speech of distinguished impartiality. Christianity, he said, laboured under the greatest peril, for which be knew but two remedies, each of which he had resolved to administer; the one, a vigorous prosecution of those who professed or encouraged the new modes of faith; the other, a reformation of the scandalous and immoral lives of the catholic clergy, which had furnished an ample pretext for separation.

Had he proceeded no further he might have escaped the censure of persecution from the many protestant writers, for we have no account of him from the pens of those of his own Church, who have given that colour to his character; but he now determined to attack the leader of the Scottish reformers, and it was

for his prosecution of George Wishart that they consigned his name to the most lasting odium. Wishart was a person of considerable talents and learning, a persuasive and indefatigable preacher, and a man of the most exemplary morals. His conduct exhibited, together with the most overheated zeal, a mildness and patience of temper, and an innocency of manners and conversation that not only recommended, but endeared, him to all with whom he could obtain intercourse. The Church of Rome could not have had a more formidable enemy, nor could there perhaps have been found among its opponents any other man so certain of deriving from extremity of punishment the title of martyr. Beatoun, who had long beheld his progress with increasing uneasiness, at length prevailed with the Regent to issue an order for his apprehension, and is said to have accompanied the Earl of Bothwell into East Lothian, of which county that nobleman was hereditary sheriff, to ensure its success. Wishart was conducted to the Castle of Edinburgh, from whence, at the request of the Queen dowager, who always adhered to the Cardinal, the Regent directed that he should be transferred to St. Andrews, where Beatoun immediately prepared for his trial, and summoned the Prelates of the realm to assemble there for that purpose on the twenty-seventh of February, 1545, O. S. It was suggested at their first meeting, to lessen the responsibility of the clergy, that application should be made to the Regent to grant a special commission constituting some eminent layman to preside, to which the Cardinal agreed. Arran was at first willing to concede this point, but, on the advice of a zealous protestant, to which persuasion indeed he was himself inclined, he returned, to use the words of Spotswood, this answer, "That the Cardinal would do well not to precipitate the man's trial, but to delay it until his coming; for, as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause were well examined; and if the Cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation that the man's blood should be required at his hands." Beatoun, enraged at this perhaps

first instance of the Regent's resistance to any dictate of his, rejoined, adds Spotswood, "that he wrote not unto the Governor as though he depended in any matter upon his authority, but out of a desire he had that the heretic's condemnation might proceed with a shew of public consent, which since he could not obtain, he would be doing himself that which he held most fitting." Wishart was accordingly tried on eighteen articles by the Prelates, and condemned to be burned. The sentence was executed at St. Andrews on the second of March, in the presence, says Buchanan, of the Cardinal, "who sat opposite to the stake, in a balcony hung with tapestry and silk hangings, to behold and take pleasure in the joyful sight;" while the sufferer cried, from the midst of the flames, "he who now so proudly looks down on me from yonder lofty place shall ere long be as ignominiously thrown down as now he proudly lolls at his ease." These circumstances, so memorable, are not mentioned by any writers except Buchanan, and those who have copied from or quoted him, and there is little doubt that the barbarous triumph of the Cardinal, and the prophecy of the martyr, are mere creatures of his invention.

The Cardinal's death indeed occurred so speedily after that of Wishart, and from circumstances so strange and unexpected, that, had such a prognostication really been uttered, all Europe, in an age so fond and credulous of wonders, would have rung with the fame of it's accomplishment. Beatoun, universally envied for his greatness; constantly detested by a powerful party in the State; by another not less formidable in the Church; and by a neighbouring Potentate as remarkable for a vindictive spirit as for his freedom from all scruples of conscience with regard to the means of gratifying it; was destined to fall by the hands of assassins, actuated by motives of anger for private causes. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1546, five gentlemen, Norman Lesley, eldest son, and John Lesley, brother, to the Earl of Rothes; William Kirkaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fife, and James Melville; having previously concerted their plan with great

circumspection, entered the castle of St. Andrews, early in the morning, with very few followers. Having secured the porter, by whom, as he well knew all of them, they had been readily admitted within the walls, they appointed, says Spotswood, "four of their company to watch the chamber where the Cardinal lay, that no advertisement should go unto him, and then went to the several chambers in which the servants lay asleep, and, calling them by their names, for they were all known unto them, they put fifty of his ordinary servants, besides the workmen, masons, and wrights, who were reckoned above a hundred (for he was then fortifying the castle) to the gate, permitting none to stay within but the Governor's eldest son, whom they thought best to detain upon all adventures. This was performed with so little noise as the Cardinal did not hear till they knocked at his chamber. Then he asked who was there? John Lesley answered 'my name is Lesley.' 'Which Lesley,' said the Cardinal, 'is that, Norman?' It was answered that he must open to those that were there. The answer gave him notice that they were no friends, therefore, making the door fast, he refused to open. They calling to bring fire, whilst it was in fetching he began to commune with them, and, after some speeches, upon their promise to use no violence, he opened the door, but they, rushing in with their swords drawn, did most inhumanly kill him, he not making any resistance.

Thus fell perhaps the greatest man, in almost every point of consideration, that his country ever produced. His vast talents and his consequent power have combined to preserve that regular chain of the circumstances of his public life of which I have here attempted to give an abstract, while the history of many of his contemporaries who held high offices in the State is almost unknown. In the story of one of whom so much has been told, and that too by his enemies, it is at all events unlikely that any just dispraise should have been omitted, and it must be confessed that, with the exception of some religious severities, his public conduct has been left free of blame. Of his private character less is known.

He publicly indulged in a licentiousness not uncommon with the eminent clergy of his time, and lived in open concubinage with a lady of a noble family, Marian Ogilvie, by whom he had six children, of which his eldest daughter was married a few weeks before his death to the heir of the then Earl of Crawford, and respectable descendants from some of the others yet remain in Scotland. Some Latin works of his pen are said to remain in manuscript. An Account of his Negotiations with the King of France, and the Pope; a Treatise of the Supremacy of St. Peter over the other Apostles; and a Collection of his Speeches and Discourses on several occasions.

Engraved by W. Holl.

THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR, OF SUDELEY.

OB. 1549.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, April 1. 1825.

THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR

OF SUDELEY.

THIS eminent person, who seems to have possessed all the qualities necessary to form what the world usually calls a great man, except patience, was the third son of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested, in Suffolk. His family, which had stood for ages in the foremost rank of English gentry, was suddenly elevated by the marriage of his sister Jane to Henry the eighth. It is well known that Edward, his eldest surviving brother, was by that Prince created Viscount Beauchamp, and Earl of Hertford, and that in the succeeding reign he was appointed by the council governor of the infant King, and Protector of the realm; obtained the dignity of Duke of Somerset, and perished on the scaffold. Both were eminently distinguished for military skill and gallantry, but Thomas had the advantage in talents; was remarkable for a general firmness of mind, a daring spirit of enterprize, and the loftiest ambition. He had served with the utmost merit and applause in Henry's wars against the French, and, in or about the year 1544, was placed for life in the post of Master of the Ordnance: on the accession of his nephew, Edward the sixth, he was constituted Lord Admiral of England, created Baron Seymour, of Sudeley, in Gloucestershire, and elected a Knight of the Garter. Till this period these great men had manifested a mutual cordiality and confidence. The constant favour of Henry had left no room for alarm in the timid breast of the one, and the haughty strictness of his rule had curbed the swelling pride of the other, but the death of that imperious Prince was the signal for their total

disunion. The features of a plan of aggrandisement which could not but have been premeditated presently disclosed themselves in the conduct of Seymour, and the most prominent of them appeared in his determination to connect himself with royalty by marriage. It has been said, but the report is unsupported by historical evidence, that he first attempted to win the affections of the Princess Mary. If it were so, his advances must have been made, which is highly improbable, during her father's reign, for immediately after that Prince's death he paid his addresses to the Queen Dowager, Catherine Par, and with so little reserve that their more than ordinary intimacy became presently evident to the whole Court. Catherine was easily persuaded, for he had been a favoured suitor before her marriage to the King, and accepted him for her fourth husband, long before the formality of her ostensible mourning for Henry had expired.

The discord between the brothers may be historically traced almost to the precise period of this marriage, and has been wholly ascribed to it by a writer equally remarkable for vehemence of prejudice, and carelessness of truth. Sanders, the well-known literary champion of Romanism, not content with observing, which he might probably have done with justice, that their quarrel originated in the hatred conceived by the Protector's lady, Anne Stanhope, a woman of intolerable pride and malice, against Catherine, would persuade us that its entire progress, and tragical termination, were directed solely by her influence. "There arose," says Sanders, "a very great contest between Queen Catherine Par and the Protector's wife who should have the precedence; and the contest rested not in the women, but passed to the men: and when the emulation continually increased, the Protector's wife would not let her husband alone, till at last it came to pass that the Protector, who, although he ruled the King yet was ruled by his wife, must cut off his brother, that nothing might be an hindrance to her will." Hayward, the able historian of that reign, without seeking for a corroboration of

this tale, for which he would have sought in vain, has adopted Sanders's report, and even enlarged on it, in more than one of those florid passages so frequent in his interesting work. The only document however on record which tends to prove, and that rather obscurely, even that any jealousy subsisted on the score of the marriage is a letter from Catherine to the Admiral, in the year 1548, preserved in Haynes's State Papers, which commences with these words, and then turns to other subjects. "Thys schalbe to advertysche yow that my Lord your brother hathe thys afternone a lyttell made me warme. Yt was fortunate we war so much dystant, for I suppose els I schulde have bitten him. What cause have they to feare havynge such a wyffe?" The truth is that Seymour, from the very hour of Edward's accession, had been meditating the means of supplanting his brother in the King's affections, and in the exercise of his public authority.

The Protector was not long unapprised of these designs. Even so early as the summer of 1547, while he was fighting victoriously in Scotland, he received intelligence that his brother was engaged in great and dangerous intrigues against him at home. Led astray as well by goodness of heart as weakness of judgement, he had framed the fantastic theory of building the strength of his government on the affection of the people, and had therefore courted the Commons at the expence of the Aristocracy. Seymour availed himself of this error, and industriously fomented the discontent which it had excited among the nobles, but his rashness impelled him to premature steps. Without sufficient preparation, he endeavoured to prevail on them to propose in Parliament the abrogation of his brother's high faculties, and the election of himself to the station of Guardian of the King's person; artfully, however, and with an affected modesty, declining the office of Protector, with the double view of securing to his own interests him who might eventually be elected to it, and of controuling his government by the exercise of a secret influence over the royal

mind. He even prevailed on Edward to write a letter to the Parliament, desiring them to appoint him to the first of those trusts. His suggestions, however, were received with coldness and disgust, and he resented the disappointment with the undisguised anger and the unguarded speeches of one to whom a just right had been denied. The Protector, on his return, unwillingly prepared to proceed against him as a public criminal, and accepted with eagerness the concessions and apologies which he was at length prevailed on to offer, but those motions on the Admiral's part were wholly insincere, and his ambitious resolutions perhaps acquired new force from the privacy with which he was now compelled to cherish them.

Artifice indeed seems to have been foreign from his nature, but he had no alternative but to practise it or to abandon his designs. He again addressed himself secretly to the young King; endeavoured to inflame his passions with the desire of independent sway; told him that he was "a poor King, and could not pay his own servants," and soothed the generosity of his disposition by supplying him privately with money; but the purity of Edward's heart, and the superiority of his mind, rendered these stratagems fruitless, while his affection to his uncles induced him, till the secret was at length wrung from him, to conceal them. In the mean time an increasing intimacy, of a singular and mysterious nature, was observed to subsist between the Admiral and the young Elizabeth, who had been placed, upon the death of her father, under the care of the Queen Dowager, and remained an inmate in her family after her marriage to Seymour. Elizabeth had then scarcely passed her fourteenth year, and his attentions to her seem to have commenced with those innocent freedoms which it is usual to take with children. Catherine herself was often a party in their levities. But it was not long before he addressed himself to her with privacy, or in the presence only of some of her principal attendants, whom it is evident he had secured to his interests. Elizabeth, on her part, became

enamoured of him, and the Queen, after indulging an easy and unsuspicious temper, even to absurdity, was at length jealous, and procured the removal of the object of her uneasiness to the custody of others. On these curious circumstances history, which is not at all surprising, has been wholly silent. They have been disclosed by the publication, in that fine collection, Haynes's State Papers, of the unwilling testimonies of several persons preparatory to the prosecution of the Admiral, to which I must refer the reader for particulars too numerous, and, in some instances, too gross, to be here recited. The motives to his conduct in the pursuit of this amour, for so it must be called, are scarcely doubtful. If the princess had surrendered her honour to his importunities, she could have bribed him to secrecy only by submitting to become his wife, a condescension which in that case he certainly intended to exact. Catherine, it is true, was then living, and in good health, but might easily have been put out of the way. A man at once powerful, active, ambitious, and unprincipled, could at that time scarcely encounter an insurmountable difficulty. She died very soon after, not by poison, as has been reported, but in childbirth, and circumstances which presently succeeded effectually arrested the progress of the Admiral's designs on Elizabeth.

Some time, however, was yet allowed to him for the contrivance of new schemes. Those considerations which led Edward's Council to put the Princess Elizabeth into the hands of Catherine Par had induced them to place Jane Grey also, who was next in succession to the Crown, in the same custody. After the death of Catherine, the Marquis of Dorset, father to Jane, became desirous to recal his daughter into the bosom of her family. Seymour, under various pretexts, resisted his importunities, and, on being earnestly pressed, secretly represented to the Marquis the probability, should she still be permitted to remain under the protection of himself and his mother, that he might contrive to unite her in marriage to the young King. This overture, such was the

coarseness of the age, was accompanied by a present of five hundred pounds, and Dorset accepted it, and submitted. The Admiral was actuated in this negotiation by two motives. Dorset, though a man of weak intellect, possessed a powerful influence, derived from his lady's relation in blood to the throne, from his great estates, and, above all, from the innocence and integrity of his character. Seymour was anxious to ensure his support; but this was not all: the Protector, or, perhaps, rather his lady, had proposed their heir as a husband for Jane, and the Admiral was not less eager to thwart their views, than in the pursuit of his own. To his envy of his brother's greatness a private injury had lately added the desire of revenge. Henry had bequeathed to the Queen Dowager some estates, and certain valuable jewels, to the possession of neither of which she had been admitted. After her death, Seymour, seemingly with strict justice, claimed them of the Council, and that body, under the direction, as he conceived, of the Protector, refused to admit his claim.

Somerset, however, seems to have acted, through the whole of their contest, with the most exemplary patience and moderation, resulting from a rooted tenderness for his brother; but new discoveries, rapidly succeeding each other, at length compelled him, not only for his own security, but for that of the realm, to interpose his authority. In addition to the instances that have been already given of Seymour's dangerous disposition, it now appeared that he had seduced by presents and promises almost all those persons who had ready access to the King's person, and were most in his confidence; that he had propagated the most injurious reports of the secret policy of his brother's government, asserting, among a multitude of other calumnies, that he was raising in Germany a mercenary force, by the aid of which he intended to establish a despotism in England; that he had established a formidable influence in every county of the realm; had computed that he could raise even among his own tenants, servants, and retainers, ten thousand men; had actually provided

arms for their use; and had gained to his interests Sir John Sharington, Master of the Mint at Bristol, who had engaged to supply him with money to equip them. The Protector, thoroughly informed on all these points, still hesitated. He endeavoured once more to try the effect of entire confidence and affectionate persuasion; reasoned and entreated with the coolness and impartiality of a disinterested friend; and strove, even at this late period, to reclaim his brother's kindness and duty by new favours and distinctions. Seymour, among whose faults treachery and deceit appear to have had no place, received these condescensions with a haughty sullenness, and would engage for nothing; and Dudley, Earl of Warwick, whose secret plans for raising himself on the ruins of the family of Seymour were already approaching to maturity, seized the opportunity afforded by this obstinacy of persuading the Protector to give up to his fate a man by whose talents and courage they would probably have been rendered abortive. Somerset, thus influenced, deprived his brother of the office of Admiral, and on the sixteenth of January, 1549, O. S. signed a warrant for his imprisonment in the Tower.

A committee of three Privy Counsellors was now deputed to take those examinations from which most of the foregoing particulars of Seymour's offences have been derived; the result was digested into thirty-three articles, which were laid before the Privy Council; and that assembly went presently after in a body to the Tower to interrogate himself, but he refused to answer; demanded time to consider the charges; and a public trial, in which he might be confronted with the witnesses. This was denied, and it was determined to prosecute him by a bill of attainder. No other instance perhaps can be found in which that suspicious and unpopular process had been at any time conducted with so much justice and fairness. It occupied exclusively the attention of the Parliament from the twenty-fourth of February till the fifth of March, and the multifarious facts alledged were canvassed with the most scrupulous exactness:

The Peers, by whom it was passed unanimously, paid the compliment, unusual in those days, to the lower House, of permitting such of their own body as could give evidence on the case to be there examined vivâ voce; and in the latter assembly, more than four hundred members being on that day present, it was opposed only by nine or ten voices. The Protector, now, with a reluctant hand, signed a warrant for Seymour's execution, and, on the twentieth of March, he suffered death on Tower Hill, in a sullen silence, and with a courage so ferocious and desperate, as to have given occasion to Bishop Latimer to say, in his fourth sermon, that "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly; so that his end was suitable to his life, which was very vicious, profane, and irreligious."

Lord Seymour was never married, but to Catherine Par, who left to him an only daughter, Mary, born in September, 1548, who survived him, and was restored in blood almost immediately after his death, but died an infant.

Engraved by E. Scriven.

JOHN KNOX.

OB. 1572.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION AT

HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, [illegible]

JOHN KNOX.

THE life of an ecclesiastical reformer, a title always bestowed on those whose endeavours to overthrow a religious establishment have been crowned by success, requires many episodes to render it interesting to any others than those of his own profession. The journeyings, and preachings, and mortifications, and weepings, and raptures of such a person; nay, his very prophecies, unless some one of them should chance to be verified, which, for the best of all reasons, scarcely ever happens; can never attract general attention. To bespeak our regard he must have raised armies by the magic of his eloquence, hurled Kings from their thrones, annihilated civil systems, burned multitudes of persons, or must at least himself have been burned. Knox had none of these recommendations. He was a busy instrument in the propagation of a schism which would have worked its way, perhaps not quite so speedily, if he had never had existence. He was deputed to undermine by coarse and vulgar declamation a monarchy the honour of pulling down which his employers intended to reserve to themselves. His brutal insolence to the Sovereigns under whom he lived never exalted itself to active rebellion; he suffered no punishment which could be deemed persecution, nor did his station afford him the power of persecuting others. His secret transactions and engagements with the eminent persons whom he joined in disturbing the peace of their country have never been discovered, and his history is almost wholly confined to the ravings of fanaticism and sedition.

Who were his parents is unknown, yet the fact of his having been descended from the ancient and respectable family of Knox of Renfarleigh, in the shire of Renfrew, is supported by such

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR...

strong presumptions that it cannot be doubted. He was born in 1505, at a village called Giffard, in East Lothian, and having received his first instructions for the clerical profession at the grammar-school of the neighbouring town of Haddington, was removed to the University of St. Andrews, where he studied under the tuition of John Mair, an eminent teacher of the theology then in vogue, with such application and activity that he is said to have obtained the degree of Master of Arts while yet a youth, and to have been admitted into priest's orders before the age prescribed by ecclesiastical law. The subtilties however of school divinity were ill suited to the bold and inquisitive character of his mind, and he soon abandoned them for the study of the primitive fathers, in which he passed several years of severe application. At length the doctrines of the reformation reached Scotland; he attached himself to a priest of the name of Williams, provincial of the Scottish Benedictines, who had not only translated the New Testament, but had publicly decried in his sermons the Pope's authority; and soon after, in 1544, renounced in form the Roman Catholic faith, and became the regular disciple of the famous George Wishart. He attended that more moderate pastor in his spiritual progresses till the commencement of the year 1546, when Wishart was put to death, and celebrated his memory in the usual strain which such writers apply to such subjects.

From his connexion with Wishart he derived considerable fame among the reformers, who began to consider and treat him as the head of their infant church. The Lairds of Ormeston and Langniddry, powerful men, who were then the chief temporal patrons of the new persuasion, appointed him tutor to their children, and he lived in their houses. Processes were at length issued against him, and he had resolved to fly to Germany, but those gentlemen persuaded him to take refuge in St. Andrews, where the castle was then held by the persons who had lately assassinated in it Cardinal Beatoun, its owner. Knox, who had

called that murther "a godly thing," which he repeats in his history, was received by them with joy. He expounded and catechised so hopefully that they declared "the gift of God to be in him," and called on him with one voice to assume the office of a public preacher, which, after long persuasion, he accepted, and presently after signalised himself by a sermon so furious that the new Primate instantly took measures to silence him. These however were prevented by the party in the castle, which in fact ruled the town, and the Catholics could do little beyond summoning Knox to a public disputation, to which he gladly agreed, and in which, as might be expected, we are told that he was completely successful. The whole city now embraced his doctrines; the church relinquished an opposition which in that place was utterly fruitless; and he remained there, with the merit at least of indefatigable application to his object, till July, 1547, when the castle was reduced by a French force, and he was put on board one of the gallies which brought it over, in which he remained on the coast of France a prisoner for two years.

In 1549 he was liberated, and came to London, where he obtained a licence to preach at Berwick, and soon after at Newcastle on Tyne, and repaired for that purpose into the north. During his residence there he received the appointment of a chaplain in ordinary to Edward the sixth, as well as some rebukes for the extravagancy of certain of his tenets, and returned to London in the spring of 1553, where he refused to accept a living which the Privy Council had moved Archbishop Cranmer to bestow on him, and vilified the King's ministers in his sermons, under the names of Achitophel, Judas, &c. To have prosecuted him specifically for that insolence might have been then very injurious to the progress of the reformation; they endeavoured therefore to curb him by another method: he was cited before the Council to assign his reasons for refusing the benefice, with the view, probably, of provoking him into unlawful invectives against the new establishment in England. His answers, though

sufficiently proving his dissatisfaction with that system, were uttered with such caution that no safe ground could be taken whereon to institute any further proceeding against him, but he was dismissed with an admonition which, however gently delivered, determined him to exercise his vocation in the country, and he was preaching in the towns and villages of Buckinghamshire, to large congregations, probably attracted by the novelty of a dialect which must have been unintelligible to them, when the accession of Mary rendered it prudent for him to quit the kingdom. He embarked for Dieppe in February, 1554, N. S. and travelled from thence to Geneva, where he placed himself in the presence, and under the orders, of his great spiritual principal, John Calvin.

Calvin presently deputed him to Frankfort, to minister to the English protestants who had fled from the violence of Mary, and settled in great numbers in that city; but his doctrines were even more offensive to these good people than those of the Church of Rome. Unwilling to engage in endless controversy with him, and unable to prevail on him to use the English Liturgy, they took a short method to disencumber themselves of him, accusing him of treason to the magistrates of the city, both against their sovereign, the Emperor, and against Queen Mary; upon which the magistrates, aware that they could not avoid surrendering him to either of those Potentates who might demand his person, secretly apprised him of his danger, and he returned precipitately to Geneva, where he remained from March, 1555, till the following August, when he determined to visit again his native land. His transactions there, during the abode of a year, present little beyond the usual contents of the journal of any other itinerant preacher. It is true that the Scottish secession from Popery had assumed, during his long absence, the character of an important political implement, and his consequence had necessarily increased. The nobility of the Kirk, as it now began to be called, were the regular opponents of the Court and government of the

Queen Regent; Knox was too promising an agent to be neglected; and they courted his intimacy. They easily prevailed on him to affront that lady by addressing to her a letter, abusing the faith in which she had lived, and exhorting her to hear his sermons; and Mary, with great justice, called it a pasquinade. The Prelates at length cited him to answer for his conduct, and he obeyed by repairing to Edinburgh on the appointed day, and preaching there to the largest congregation that he had ever drawn together. No further steps however were taken against him while he remained in Scotland; yet in July, 1556, he once more returned to Geneva, and had no sooner disappeared than the Bishops again cited him, and, on his non-appearance, condemned him to death for heresy, and his effigy was burned in Edinburgh. In all this there was much of the air of a compromise.

In the summer of the following year the discontented Lords, conceiving that they had now gained sufficient strength to protect him against the government, pressed him to return to Scotland, and Calvin told him that to refuse would be "rebellion against God, and cruelty to his country;" so he set out on his journey, but when he had reached Dieppe, and was about to embark, he received letters, informing him that some leading persons in the party had begun to waver, and recommending it to him to halt for a time on the continent. Knox appears to have been excited to great wrath by these intimations. He was prudent enough to take the advice of his friends, and returned to Geneva, doubtful of their sincerity, or their power, or both; but he answered the letters with denunciations of vengeance, uttered in a style of papal authority, against inconstancy in any of his disciples. He was sufficiently employed however in the good cause at Geneva, for he now wrote, and printed there, his invective against the sovereignty of females, with the aweful title of "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women," the most remarkable of his works, aimed at once against his own Queen, and our Mary. He was preparing a second Blast, when

the last named Princess died, and the accession of Elizabeth, whose aversion to popery was well known, induced him to lay it aside. In contemplation of obtaining her furtherance he now determined to visit England, and wrote to Cecil for a licence to that end, which was peremptorily and scornfully refused. Knox discovered that his book had induced this repulse, and forced the Secretary into a correspondence on its merits, in which, however disgusting the insolence, and obstinacy, and mad fanaticism of the man, we cannot but admire his sincerity and courage.

To give one short extract from this most singular letter—" If any think me," says he, " either enemy to the person, or yet to the regimen, of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me; for the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknowledge; and the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy to suppress such as fight against his glory) I will obey, albeit that both nature, and God's most perfect ordinance, repugn to such regimen. More plainly to speak, if Queen Elizabeth shall confess that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy maketh that lawful unto her which both nature and God's law doth deny unto all women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be; but if, God's wondrous work set aside, she ground, as God forbid, the justness of her title upon consuetude, laws, or ordinances of men, then I am assured that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme Majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall not long want punishment." Not content with writing thus to Cecil, he addressed a letter to Elizabeth herself, in which we find the following menacing passage. " If thus in God's presence you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England under you, a weak instrument, so will I with tongue and pen justify your authority and regimen, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel:

But, if the premises, as God forbid, neglected, you shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and regimen upon your own law, flatter you who so list, your felicity shall be short." Need it be asked whether this was the effect of inspiration or insanity?

Too much however in his senses to trust himself in Elizabeth's hands, and hopeless of converting her to puritanism, he now set out for Scotland, and arrived there in May, 1559. He was soon after nominated by the Lords of the Congregation, as they had for some time styled themselves, together with another preacher, to endeavour to obtain by negotiation that Princess's aid to the temporal views of the Kirk, which, as is well known, she most readily granted. The subversion of the ancient religion was now consummated. Knox composed a code of constitutions for the newly invented church, at great length, and digested with a clearness and precision of which, in spite of his ferocious wildness, he was very capable. One of the nine general heads which it comprised was intituled "Touching the suppression of Idolatry," and contained this sweeping clause—"Idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeys, chapels, monkeries, frieries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, other than presently are parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all places of this realm; palaces, mansions, and dwelling houses, with their orchards and gardens, only excepted." The Estates, even before they had ratified these constitutions, became so enamoured of that peculiar article, that they passed an act specially for the execution of its provisions, and Knox aided their pious intention by simultaneously proclaiming in a sermon that "the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests." Instantly commenced that barbarous havoc, the disgrace of which to the land is still attested by so many magnificent relics. "Thereupon ensued," pathetically writes Archbishop Spotswood, who was no enemy to the prime author of the mischief, "a pitiful vastation of churches and

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ...

church buildings throughout all the parts of the realm ; for every one made bold to put too their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater, and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced, or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, such as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church, and bibliotheques, cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined."

The ecclesiastical government was now committed to twelve persons ; the kingdom divided into as many districts, to be placed under their care respectively; and that of Edinburgh was assigned to Knox. There the celebrated Mary found him, intoxicated by power and popularity, on her arrival from France to take possession of a crown of thorns, the first of which he planted. The private exercise in the chapel of her palace of the faith in which she had been born and bred was intolerable to him, and, in defiance of an act of the State by which the penalty of death was denounced against any one who should disturb such worship, he inveighed furiously against it in his pulpit on the very first Sunday after her coming; declaring that "one mass was more frightful to him than ten thousand armed enemies landed in any part of the realm." Mary, forced to temporize, attempted to move him in the courteousness of private conference, but he was inexorable. The only concessions, if they might be so called, which she could obtain from him, regarded his book lately mentioned. He declared that he had written it solely "against that wicked Jezabel of England;" and told her that as St. Paul could live under the government of Nero, so could he under her's. "She promised him access to her," says the most popular of the Scottish historians, quoting, in this instance, Knox's own authority, "whenever he demanded it: and she even desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before all the people;

but he plainly told her that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church she should hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for such occupation." "This rustic apostle," adds the same writer, "scruples not in his history to inform us that he once treated her with such severity that she lost all command of her temper, and dissolved into tears before him. Yet, so far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity, reduced to that condition, he persevered in his insolent reproofs, and when he relates this incident, he even discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct." Innumerable instances of this savage insolence towards the fair Queen might be cited from Knox's own relation.

This singular person survived the date of the complete establishment of his church for ten years, a portion of his life which affords not a single circumstance worthy to be recorded. With some shew of reason indeed have his disciples asserted that Providence raised him up specially to perform that work, for certainly he was qualified for no other, and sunk, therefore, after he had accomplished it, into comparative insignificance. He died, after a gradual decay of three months, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1572, and was buried in the church-yard of the parish of St. Giles, in Edinburgh. Knox, amidst his pious cares, seems to have been by no means inattentive to his private interests: there is reason to believe that he died even wealthy. Certain it is that he was twice very respectably married; first, to Margery Bowes, of the ancient family of that name in the county of Durham; secondly, to Margaret, daughter of Andrew Stuart, Lord Ochiltree. By his first wife he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, who were educated in St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge, became Fellows of that house, and beneficed clergymen in England; and one daughter, married to Robert Pont, a Lord of Session. By the second, he had three daughters, two of whom became the wives of ministers of the Kirk, of the names of Welsh and Fleming.

Knox's writings, all, as might be expected, of the polemical class, were numerous. His "History of the Reformation within the realm of Scotland," a book on many accounts of considerable curiosity, is well known; for the rest, it is painful to enumerate works which no one in this time has read, or will read, and yet some mention of them may be expected here. The following are extant in print:—"A faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the Kingdom of England," 1554—"A Letter to Mary, Queen Regent of Scotland," 1556—"The Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates and Commonalty of the same realm," 1558—"The First Blast," &c. already spoken of, 1558—"A Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel heretofore by the Tyranny of Mary suppressed and banished," 1559—"An Answer to a great number of blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversary of God's eternal Predestination," 1560—"A Reply to the Abbot of Crossragwell's" (Crossregal) "Faith, or Catechism, with his Conference with that Abbot," 1562—"A Sermon preached before the King," (Henry Darnley) 1566—"An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyria, a Jesuit," 1568. Other of his pieces are printed in Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, and several of his manuscripts existed about eighty years since in the hands of a Mr. Robert Woodrow, a Minister of the Kirk.

Engraved by J. Jenkins.

EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN.

OB. 1584.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KETEL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London. Dec. 1, 1824.

EDWARD CLINTON,

EARL OF LINCOLN.

The family of this nobleman had enjoyed the dignity of the Peerage nearly for three hundred years, yet, with the exception of its common ancestor, Geoffery de Clinton, whom we find styled Lord Chamberlain, Treasurer to the King, and Justice of England, under Henry the first, none of his progenitors appear to have held any public situations, beyond such municipal offices as are usually filled by owners of large estates in their respective provinces. He was the only son of Thomas, eighth Lord Clinton, by Mary, a natural daughter of Sir Edward Poynings, Knight of the Garter, and it is probable that no small share of the favour in which that gentleman was held by Henry the eighth devolved on this young nobleman through that marriage.

He was born in the year 1512, and at the death of his father, which occurred on the seventh of August, 1517, fell in wardship to the Crown. Educated in the Court, his youth was passed in those magnificent and romantic amusements which distinguished the commencement of Henry's reign, nor was it till 1544 that he appeared in any public character. In that year he attended the Earl of Hertford, and Dudley, Lord Lisle, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, in their expedition to Scotland, and is said then to have engaged in the naval service in consequence of his intimacy with the latter, who commanded the English fleet. He was knighted at Leith by Hertford, who commanded in chief, and then embarked with the Admiral, Lisle, who, having scoured the coast of Scotland, landed at Boulogne, which was at that time besieged by the King in person.

At the commencement of the following reign he was appointed

admiral of the fleet which aided the Protector's great irruption into Scotland, and, owing to a singular circumstance, is said to have had a considerable share in the victory of Musselborough, without quitting his ships; for the van of the English army having changed its position, the Scots imagined that it was flying to the fleet, and so forsook the high ground on which they had been advantageously posted, and, following the English to the shore, were received with a furious discharge of cannon, which threw them into irrecoverable disorder. Soon after this period Lord Clinton was constituted Governor of Boulogne, and, on his return from thence, after the peace of 1550, was appointed of the King's Privy Chamber; Lord Admiral of England for life; and a Knight of the Garter. To these distinctions were added grants of estates to a very considerable amount. In 1551 he represented his royal master at Paris, as godfather to the third son of France, afterwards Henry the third. He negotiated at the same time the fruitless treaty of marriage intended between Edward the sixth and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry the second of France, and brought home with him the instrument of its ratification.

Edward died soon after the conclusion of this embassy, and Lord Clinton, having recommended himself to the favour of that Prince's successor by his early expression of attachment to her title to the Crown, was sent in 1554, together with others of the loyal nobility, at the head of a military force, against Sir Thomas Wyat. In the autumn of the next year he carried the Order of the Garter to Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and in 1557 had a principal command in the English army at the siege of St. Quintin. On the thirteenth of February, 1558, O. S. his patent of Lord Admiral was renewed, and on the twelfth of April following he was appointed Commander in chief, both by sea and land, of the forces then sent against France and Scotland. Elizabeth continued him in the post of Admiral; chose him of her Privy Council; appointed him a Commissioner to examine Murray's charges against the Queen of Scots; and joined him to Dudley,

Earl of Warwick, in the command of the army sent in 1569 against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. He was one of the twenty-five Peers who, in January, 1572, N. S. sat in judgement on Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. On the fourth of the succeeding May he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lincoln, and was immediately after dispatched to Paris, with a splendid train of nobility and gentry, to attend the ratification of the treaty of Blois by Charles the ninth.

The remainder of his life presents nothing worthy of note, for we find only that he was occasionally employed in the mere formalities of that tedious treaty of marriage with Francis Duke of Anjou, Elizabeth's motives for the commencement and dissolution of which were ever equally unknown even to those of her ministers whom she most trusted. It should seem indeed that there was little historically eminent in this nobleman's character: that he was valued by the monarchs whom he served rather for his probity and his fidelity than for his talents, which being probably of a sort and measure best adapted to the conduct of warlike affairs, afforded little worth remembrance during the long season of public tranquillity which detached him from such services. Some imperfect judgement of the powers of his mind may be formed from the two following letters to Lord Burghley, written at different periods of his life, and now first published, from the Harleian collection; nor indeed are they otherwise destitute of interest, particularly the second, written even while the detestable Prince of whose oath of perpetual amity with Elizabeth it chiefly treats was secretly planning the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which were perpetrated within very few weeks after the date of his solemn perjury, and of Lincoln's dispatch.

"Aftar my most harty come˜dacyons unto your good Lordship, albeit you shall by the lettars from my LL. of the Cownsell understand the good newis y^{t} ar com toching the peace betwen the Quene's Ma^{te} and the French toching the mattars of Skotland, yet I take occasyon to trowble your L. wth this my lettar

y[t] it may apeare I am not slothfull in wryting to yow. This peace is gretely to the Quene's honour, and this reame. My Lord of Norfolk is gon to Lyth, to see the demolyshing of the same. The newis doth styll contynew of the comyng of the yong King of Swevya, who bringeth xxx shyps of war, and lx other to carre his trayne and vytells. Yesterday the Kyng of Spayne's Ambassadors were here, who reseyved knolayg of her Hynes of the peace concludyd in Skotland. The tewmolts in France do contynew. Monsur de Glassyon told me yesterday y[t] the Duke of Savoy was in gret danger, besyde his owne towne off Nyece, to a byn taken by the Torks, bot skaped naroly, his horse being sore hort under hym. xii of his prynsepall noble men and gentylmen are by the Torks takyn and carreid away. The Kyng of Spayne's los at Geriby is confermyd by other lettars. I have lernyd for sarten y[t] the French preparasyons are small to the see. It is brewtyd here y[t] the Dewk de Namors doth com wth a gret company of Noble men to vyzet the Quene's Ma[te] from the French Kyng. Many lettars ar going owt from the Quene to the nobylyty of this reame to com to the Corte agen the comyng of this yong Kyng of Swevya. I trust we shall be in quyat wth France untyll they have ther owne cowntrey in a good ordar and subjectyon, but, when tyme shall sarve them, ther wylbe no gret trost to them, as I juge this peace hath ben parfors, for they were dryven to take it in thys sort, or els have lost all ther pypyll in Lyth, being not able to socor them. My Lord of Penbrok doth somwat amend of his syknes, God be thankyd, and is gon yesterday from the Corte to London, and so to Hynden. When othar mattars shall com worthe wrytyng I wyll advertes your L. From the Corte, the xiiith of July, 1560.

Your L'. assured to com̃and,

E. Clynton."

"My Lord,

I have advartized your L. from tyme to tyme of my enterteynment synce my comynge from Bullyn, whiche, albeit

ther was no ordar taken for provisions of the Kyng's chargis for me on the waye hyther, yet I assure you I was vearie honorablie used and enterteyned, as I have afore wrytten ; and, as I p̃ceive, they here weare utterlie withowt knowledge that there was suche ordar taken by the Quene's Matie for the receyvinge of Monsieur Momerancie in England, whereof there hathe ben great mislykinge taken against suche as showld have gyven knowledge hyther. But synce my comyng to Parris ther hathe ben as greate enterteynement and honor done me, in respecte of her Majestie, as I ever have seene, and all at the Kyng's chargis.

On Fridaye last I was sent for to come to Madryll to the Kyng. The Prince Dolphyn, wth many noble men, wher'of the Marshall Cossie, being one, dyd accompany me to the Court, wheare at my comyng the Kyng dyd welcom me vearie honorablie, his brethren, and a great assemblie of noble men being wyth hym. That daie the Kyng cawsed me, and the Quene's Ma$^{t's}$ Imbassadors, to dyne wth him and his brethren. We weare aftar dynar browght to the Quene, his wyfe, by the Duke Dalanson, at whiche tyme the Quene mother was sicke, and so deferred our comynge to her for that daye. We weare lodged in the Kynge's howse theare, and hadd greate enterteynement, wheare we remayned Frydaie and Satterdaie, in which tyme the Kynge used suche familier enterteynemente as he tooke me wythe hym after his supper to walke in his parke, and he played at the Tennys, in the fyldes at Randon, with the noble men, and caried me late to his pryvie chamber, and did talke with me vearie pryvatlye. He had som pastyme showed hym by Italian players, whiche I was at wth hym. On Satterdaie he towlde me his mother was not vearie well, but som thinge amended, and yet he wolde have me see her, and so hymself browght me to her, and her Majestie's Imbassadors, she being in her bedd, wheare I dyd her Ma$^{t's}$ comendacions, and delyvered her Ma$^{t's}$ letters. The next daye, beinge Sondaie, appoynted for the oathe to be taken at a parishe churche in Parris, the Kynge, wythe his twoo brethren, entred in a coache, and tooke me in the

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SAR

sayd coache wth theym, and so passed throwghe a great part of Parris to the Lovar, wher he dyned, and greate and sumptuous preparacion for hym, and a greate assemblie of noble men and gentlemen; and theare I, wythe her Ma$^{t's}$ Imbassadoures, dyned wythe the Kynge and his brethren.

Aftar dynar, at Evensonge tyme, the Kynge went to the aforesaid churche, and I have not seene a greater assemblie of people of all sortes, so that it was longe er the Kynge cowlde passe the prease, for all that his offycers cowlde comaunde to make place. At his comynge to the said churche, wch was rytchlie furnished, and hanged wythe arras, and a place in the quyer dressed for the Kynge and the noble men, aftar we hadd browght hym to the quyer, and that he was sett, we retyred o^{r}selves to a chappell on the syde of the said churche appoynted for us, where we remayned, accompanied wythe the Duke of Bolleyn, and Monsieur de Lansack, and others, untyll the Kynge had hard his evensong, and then we weare sent for by the Prynce Dolphyn to the Kynge, and theare, at the highe aulter, he tooke his oathe; and afore he dyd sweare he towld me openlie that ther was nothing that ever contented hym better than this league betwene the Quene, his good systar, and hym, beinge so noble and worthie a Pryncys as she ys; and, as he dyd publykelye take the oathe, accordyng to the ordar in suche cases, so dyd he p̃nounce that he dyd yt from his harte, as the thynge that he wolde trewlye and justlye obsarve and keepe durynge his lyfe, wythe suche a showe of a contentacyon as I have not seene the lyke. I noted his speache to me before dyner, spoken afore his brethren, and the greatest part of the Prynces and noble men theare, wch was that the ordar and custome hathe ben alwaies in Fraunce that when anie Kynge or Quene dyed, or other greate estate of their Howse, as nowe the Quene of Navare, they dyd mourne in theyr apparell, and dyd weare yt for one monthe at the leaste; but he, haveing recyved suche cawse to rejoyce at this amitie, whearto he wold sweare that daye, and for the greate honor he dyd beare to the Quene's Matie, his good

systar, he wolde weare his apparell accordynge to the contentmente of his mynde, and therfore he dyd put of all mourning, and indede he and his brethren weare rytchelie apparrelled.

The Kynge apon Sondaie last towlde me that bothe his brethren, for the greate honor they beare to her Matie dyd desier to have me, and bothe her Ma^t's Imbassadoures, and the noble men and gentlemen in my companye, to dyne wth them uppon Tewsdaie and Wensdaie next followynge: so that uppon Tewsdaie we dyned wyth Monsieur, who sent for us twoo of the brethren of Monsieur de Momeransie, and Lansack, and Larchaunt, and dyvars others. And at owre comynge, the Duke and his brother dyd mete us wythowt his greate chamber, accompenied wythe the Duke Monpansier, and his son Prynce Dolphyn, and the Duks de Nevers and Bullyen, and Domall, and Guyse, and the Marshall de Cossie, and Danvyle, who all dyned wth hym. At after dynar Monsr and his brother browght us to a chambre wheare was vearie many sorts of exelent musicke; and after that he hadd us to another large chambre, wheare there was an Italian playe, and dyvars vautars and leapers of dyvars sortes, vearie exelent; and thus that daie was spent. I doo heare that the Duke Dalanson doothe this daie make greate preparacion to feast us, wherof I wyll advartize you by my next lettars. And thus I take my leave of yor good L. wyshinge yor L. long lief, in much honor.
From the Lovar, in Parris, this Wensdaie, in the morrnyng, beyng the xviiith of June, 1572.

Yo^r L.' assured frend to com~aund,

E. LYNCOLN."

"Her hathe ben hetherto no worde spokyn to me, ether by the Kynge or his mother, toochynge the Quene of Skotts, or the Duke Dalanson. Seurly, my Lord, here is shoid gret contentasyon of this amyté."

The Earl of Lincoln died on the nineteenth of January, 1584, O. S. and lies buried in St. George's Chapel, in Windsor Castle,

under a superb monument of alabaster and porphyry, which was some years since repaired, with laudable care and nicety, by the direction of his noble descendant, the late Duke of Newcastle. He was thrice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow to Gilbert, Lord Talboys. By this lady, who had formerly admitted the caresses of Henry the eighth, he had three daughters; Bridget, married to Robert Dymock, of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire; Catherine, to William Lord Borough; and Margaret, to Charles, Lord Willoughby of Parham. By his second wife, Ursula, daughter of Edward, Lord Stourton, he had three sons: Henry, his successor; Edward; and Thomas; and two daughters; Anne, wife of William Ayscough, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire; and Frances, of Giles Bruges, Lord Chandos. He married thirdly Elizabeth, daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, who died without issue.

Engraved by W. Holl.

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

OB. 1604.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK GERARDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, June 1, 1825.

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

JAMES Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and Duke of Chatelherault, had by his lady, Margaret, eldest daughter of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, four sons. James, the eldest, who, after his father's advancement to his French Dukedom, bore the title of Earl of Arran, was a young nobleman of the proudest hopes. He had been bred in France, and the influence of Mary, his Queen and near relation, who was the consort of the Dauphin, afterwards Francis the second, had placed him, though a most earnest protestant, in the post of Colonel of the French King's Scottish Guards. The imprudent activity of his zeal became intolerable to a Court distinguished by its attachment to the Papacy, and he was compelled to fly from the pardonable resentment of a land whose faith and modes of worship he had contemned and insulted, but the reformers of Scotland received him as an object of persecution who had barely escaped martyrdom, and the political prejudices which were interwoven with their affection to the new discipline fixed on the family of Guise the charge of a deliberate plan to sacrifice this illustrious Scot to their vengeance against the reformation. Thus endeared to them, not less than by that presumptive right to the inheritance of the Throne which has been more than once stated in this work, he was formally recommended by the Scottish Parliament to Elizabeth in 1560, a few months after his flight from France, as a husband, and civilly rejected. A similar proposal was made on his behalf, under the same authority, to his own Sovereign, on her return to Scotland, a widow, in the following year, but without better success. These disappointments, operating on a most impetuous and fiery nature, are said to have gradually overset a mind which seems to

have been originally ill-balanced, and he became an incurable lunatic.

John, the second son, will be the subject of the present memoir; and Claud, the third, was a young nobleman of the most exalted spirit and honour, a steady Roman Catholic, and most enthusiastically devoted to the cause of his royal mistress. With David, the fourth son, this little essay has no concern; nor should I have detailed these particulars of his brothers James and Claud, were not the few facts which I have been able to obtain of the story of Lord John so frequently connected with their's that the foregoing short recital respecting them seemed indispensibly necessary.

He was born in 1532, and endowed, suitably to his high birth, while yet a child, with several royal grants of estates, particularly of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, which had been formerly held by Beatoun, during his progress to the primacy. He received his education in France, whether with a view to the ecclesiastical profession is uncertain, but undoubtedly under teachers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in strict conformity to the principles of that church, which, however, after the example of his father and elder brother, he quitted about the year 1559, and embraced the protestant faith. This change seems to have been dictated neither by party views, or schemes of aggrandisement, in himself or them. The Duke, his father, who was born to the possession of dignity which could have been increased only by his succession to the Throne, loved that retirement for which the character and measure of his talents had in truth best fitted him; Arran was known to have recanted through a zeal which savoured of bigotry; and his own invariable fidelity to the Catholic Mary, in opposition to the politics of those whose creed he had adopted, amply proved the honesty and independence of his motives, since he at once hazarded the loss of her favour by renouncing the doctrines of her church, and incurred the hatred of her opponents by cherishing her temporal interests.

He did in fact offend both. Mary, on her arrival from France to mount the Throne of Scotland, found the Duke and his family not only protestants, but supporters of the cause of the congregation, in which she had been taught to believe that she could find only enemies. Arran, even while he aspired to her hand, endeavoured to prevent her practice of the rights of her religion, and entered a public protestation against it. The whole house of Hamilton fell under her disfavour, and retired from the Court, and the subsequent opposition of the Duke to her imprudent marriage with Darnley sealed his disgrace, and forced him to fly with his family into France. They remained there till her calamities required the aid and consolation of their loyalty. On receiving the news of her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, the Lords John and Claud Hamilton flew to Scotland, and mustered her scattered friends at their father's seat at Hamilton, where they signed with them, on the twenty-fifth of December, 1567, a bond of association to liberate her. The interesting tale of her escape by other means is well known. She reached Hamilton Palace in safety, where an army of six thousand men was presently raised for her service, at the head of which she marched in person to meet a force hastily led against her by her bastard brother, the Regent Murray, which however gained a complete victory in the battle of Langside on the 13th of May, 1568. She now fled to England, never to return, and in the following July, every individual of the name of Hamilton who had fought for her on that day, including in fact nearly the whole of her army, was outlawed by a Parliament called by the Regent for that purpose.

The two succeeding years were distinguished by the violent deaths of the Earl of Murray, and his successor in the Regency, the Earl of Lenox. These assassinations, the first of which had been perpetrated by a Hamilton, were laid by the friends of the deceased noblemen to the charge of the Lords John and Claud. Their illegitimate uncle, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had been accused of the murther of Murray, and put to death without a

trial, and their names had been inserted in a general act of attainder, passed with the characteristic violence and injustice of the time, against all parties concerned in either of those crimes. At the treaty however of Perth, in 1573, which was appointed especially for the establishment of securities and amnesties, it was stipulated, that "all the processes, sentences of forfeiture, and all other prosecutions passed against George Earl of Huntly, the Lord John Hamilton, or any of their party or friends, for any crimes committed by them, or any of their party, since the fifteenth day of June, 1567, should be declared null, and of no effect." Six years had passed, during which the Duke of Chatelherault had died, and the Lord John, in consequence of the insanity of his elder brother Arran, had been declared heir to his father's estates, and was living on them in a dignified retirement, when Morton, then Regent, determined to crush at one blow the existing members of this illustrious House, and by practising on the fears and jealousies of the young King, made him a party in the iniquitous design.

It was pretended that the pardon conceded by the treaty of Perth did not extend to such as were accessary to the murther of the Regents Murray or Lenox. "Lord John and his brother," says Dr. Robertson, "were suspected of being the authors of both these crimes, and had been included in a general act of attainder on that account. Without summoning them to trial, or examining a single witness to prove the charge, this attainder was now thought sufficient to subject them to all the penalties which they would have incurred by being formally convicted. Morton, with some other noblemen, his creatures, received a commission to seize their persons and estates. On a few hour's warning a considerable body of troops was ready, and marched towards Hamilton in hostile array. Happily the two brothers made their escape, though with great difficulty; but their lands were confiscated; the castles of Hamilton and Draffan besieged, and those who defended them punished. The Earl of Arran,

though incapable from his situation of committing any crime, was involved by a shameful abuse of law in the common ruin of his family; and, as if he too could have been guilty of rebellion, he was confined a close prisoner. These proceedings, so contrary to the fundamental principles of justice, were all ratified in the subsequent Parliament."

The Lord John Hamilton fled on foot, in the disguise of a sailor, into England, and from thence to Paris, where his resistance to the importunities of the Duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal, that he would return to the Catholic church, gave such offence at Court as obliged him to retire, with scarcely the means of subsistence, into obscurity. After some years' painful residence in France he returned privately to England, where he met his brother Claud, and several Scots of high rank, who had fled from the tyranny of James's first and perhaps worst favourite, James Stewart, on whom he had bestowed the title of Earl of Arran, so basely torn from its unhappy owner. These eminent exiles now concerted a plan not only to re-enter their country, but to drive that unworthy minion from the presence of his abused master. They contrived by secret correspondence to appoint many dependents to meet them, armed, on the borders, and having approached Edinburgh by forced marches, with ten thousand men, before the King was apprised of their design, publicly swore never to separate till he should pardon them, and dismiss Stewart. James, dreading the popularity of their design more than their numbers, threw himself into the castle of Stirling, rather with the view of gaining time to deliberate than in the hope of making a defence, and found himself suddenly invested by their troops. Incapable, and probably unwilling, to offer a military resistance, he consented to both their demands. Admitted to his presence, the Lord John Hamilton addressed him on the behalf of the party, as we are informed by a respectable Scottish historian, in these words. "Sir, we are come, in the most humble manner, to beg mercy, and your Majesty's favour." The King,

continues the same writer, answered "My Lord, I did never see you before, and must confess that of all the company you have been most wronged. You were a faithful servant to the Queen, my mother, in my minority, and, when I understood not as I do the estate of Kings, hardly used."

These curious circumstances, so highly illustrative at once of the timidity, the vanity, and the caprice, of James, occurred in October, 1585, and were immediately followed by the complete restoration in parliament of this illustrious and persecuted family. Lord John Hamilton was shortly after sworn a Privy Counsellor, and appointed Governor of Dunbarton Castle, and, when the King in 1589 sailed to Denmark, to espouse in person the Princess Anne, was complimented with the post of Lieutenant General in the south of Scotland till his master's return: but it was not till 1599 that he received the compensation probably most soothing to his outraged feelings, on the seventeenth of April in which year he was created Marquis of Hamilton. He died on the twelfth of April, 1604.

This nobleman married Margaret, only daughter of John Lyon, eighth Lord Glamis, relict of Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Lord Cassilis, and had issue by her one son, James, his successor, and one daughter, Margaret, married to John, eighth Lord Maxwell.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

OB. 1612.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DORSET.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, April 1, 1825.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

An attempt was made some years since to write at large the life of this admirable youth in the usual strain of regular biography, but it proved wholly ineffectual. Dr. Birch, with that indefatigable assiduity and accuracy by which he was distinguished, drew together from all authentic sources that he could discover, perhaps every letter extant which the Prince had ever received; every dedication which had ever been addressed to him; every public instrument regarding his government, his establishment, and his revenue; together with long original narratives of the tiltings and dancings in which he had taken a part, and of the entertainments which had been provided for him in his several visits and progresses. All this is useless. The life of Prince Henry was a life of prospects, and not of events; the story of a manly childhood, and a wise puberty, subjected to the customary restraints of youth, and debarred by authority from rising into public action: It is therefore chiefly in those detached sallies of character which vainly promised a splendid future fame that we are to seek for his circumscribed history. Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer of his Household, was sensible of this, and has treated his subject accordingly, in a very small but interesting piece, intitled, "The Life and Death of our late most incomparable and heroique Prince, Henry Prince of Wales;" which Birch, in his passion for biographical mechanism, has ventured, in the preface to his own work, to call "a mere pamphlet, extremely superficial, and unsatisfactory on almost every head."

Henry was born in Sterling Castle, in Scotland, on the nineteenth of February, 1594. The care of his person, and of his early education, was almost immediately committed to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, and the Dowager Countess, his mother,

who is said to have been a singularly ill-tempered woman, and from them he was removed, at the age of six years, to the custody of Adam Newton, a very learned Scotsman, on whom James, after his accession to the throne of England, conferred the title of Baronet, and, though a layman, the Deanery of Durham. It was at this very early period of his life that his father printed his "Basilicon Doron, or his Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son, Henry the Prince," confining the impression to seven copies, and swearing the printer to secrecy; a work which, in the vanity of his heart, he afterwards published to the whole world, under the pretence of correcting erroneous transcripts which he alledged had got abroad, in spite of all his caution. Thus trained, in a half civilized country and court, incessantly under the controul and direction of a pedantic and narrow-minded father, and of a mother lately imported from a land actually barbarous, little might reasonably have been expected from a pupil so situated. A mighty character, however, of nature overcame all these disadvantages. Henry, even from his cradle, gave infallible proofs of the best and greatest qualities. His courage, perhaps the first virtue clearly discernible in infancy, was most undaunted. It is recorded of him, that when he happened to hurt himself, even severely, in the eagerness of his infantine sports, he cried not, but concealed and denied the injury. This disposition soon took a military turn. Looking at a chace which he was too young to be allowed to follow, one of his attendants asked him whether he should like that sport. He answered "yes, but I should better like another kind of hunting; the hunting of thieves and rebels, with brave men and horses."

La Boderie, ambassador from Henry the Fourth of France to James, in a letter to the French Minister, of the 31st of October, 1606, writes thus of him: "None of his pleasures savour in the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses, and of what belongs to them, but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping than that which

the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at tennis, and at another Scottish diversion very like mall; but always with persons older than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies for two hours every day, and employs the rest in tossing the pike, leaping, shooting with the bow, throwing the bar, vaulting, or some other such exercise, and is never idle. He is very kind and faithful to his dependents; supports their interests against all persons whatsoever; and pushes his endeavours for them, or others, with a zeal which seldom fails of success. He is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and especially by the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly apprehensive of the Prince's ascendancy: while the Prince, on the other hand, shews very little esteem for his Lordship." The testimony of this foreigner deserves implicit credit, and, be it remembered, that he is speaking of a child just thirteen years old.

As his reason unfolded itself, all the milder virtues gradually shone forth in him. Such was his intire love of sincerity, that he could not endure even the innocent and usual fallacies of polite intercourse. Sir Charles Cornwallis informs us, that having laid before him, for his signature, a letter to a nobleman of whom he had no good opinion, which ended with some common place expressions of favour, the Prince commanded him to make another copy, the concluding words of which he himself dictated, saying that his hand should never affirm what his heart did not think. "He was so exact," (says an anonymous Harleian MS. addressed to the Lord and Lady Lumley, and entitled "A Relation of Prince Henry's noble and virtuous Disposition, and of sundry his witty and pleasant Speeches") in all the duties of filial piety, and bore so true a reverence and respect to the King, his father, that, though sometimes he moved his Majesty in some things relating to the public, or his own particular interests, or those of others, yet on the least word, or look, or sign, given him of his Majesty's disapprobation, he would instantly desist from

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SAR

pursuing the point; and return, either with satisfaction, upon finding it disagreeable to the King, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor action, gave any appearance of being displeased or discontented." He was strictly pious, and most exact in the exercise of his public and private devotions, and had such an aversion to the profanation of the name of God that he was never heard to use it but devoutly: Indeed he abhorred swearing, which, probably because the King himself was much addicted to it, was the fashion of his time. It happened one day when he was hunting that the stag crossed a road in which a butcher and his dog were passing: the dog fell on the stag, and killed it, and the Prince's attendants endeavouring to incense him against the man, he answered, "if the dog killed the stag, could the butcher help it?" One of them hereupon took the liberty to say that if the King's hunting had been interrupted by such an accident he would have sworn terribly. "Nay," said the Prince, "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath."

Cornwallis informs us that he loved and practised justice with the utmost strictness. He manifested this disposition particularly in the government of his own family, which consisted of nearly five hundred of all ranks, in which it is said that a blow was never given, nor a quarrel carried to any height. "Whatever abuses," says that gentleman, "were represented to him he immediately redressed, to the entire satisfaction of the parties aggrieved. In his removal from one of his houses to another, and in his attendance on the King, on the same occasions, or in progresses, he would suffer no provisions or carriages to be taken up for his use, without full contentment given to the parties; and he was so solicitous to prevent any person from beng prejudiced or annoyed by himself, or any of his train, that whenever he went out to hunt or hawk before harvest was ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn, and, to set them an example, would himself ride rather a furlong about."

These admirable moral dispositions ornamented an excellent understanding, and governed a temper naturally very haughty. Never failing in any of the duties of the mere man, Henry, in all he thought, or said, or did, seemed to have constantly in his view the great inheritance which his birth had fallaciously promised to him. His household was a little monarchy, which he ruled with equal power, policy, and benignity. He was master, theoretically, of the art of war, and may indeed be said in some measure to have practised it, for he used the frequent military exercises, for his adroitness in which he was so highly distinguished, in order to qualify himself for the field. Cornwallis informs us that "he performed them with so much dexterity and skill, that he became second to no Prince in Christendom, and superior to most of those persons who practised with him;" and adds that "he sometimes walked fast and far, to enable himself to make long marches, when they should be required." He was critically versed in all that related to the navy, even to the most minute circumstances of ship-building, and no one was more highly favoured by him than Phineas Pett, a man who had applied to the study and practice of naval architecture talents which would have rendered him eminent in any other to which he might have directed them. "He loved and did mightily strive," says Cornwallis, "to do somewhat of every thing, and to excel in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and in all kind of engines belonging to the wars both at land and sea; in shooting and levelling great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of armies; in building and gardening; in all sorts of rare music, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in sculpture, limning and carving; and in all sorts of excellent and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries." The same author, and we cannot have a better authority, tells us that "he was extremely courteous and affable to strangers, and easily gained their affections upon a very short acquaintance," but that "he had a certain

height of mind, and knew well how to keep his distance; which indeed he did to all, admitting no near approach, either to his power or his secrets."

His fault indeed, and perhaps his only fault, seems to have been a degree of reserve so strict and constant, that it could not but have been the result of a temper naturally cold and distrustful. At a time of life usually marked by the sweet errors of over confidence, and extravagant affections, Henry appears but uncertainly in the character either of friend or lover. In the long list of his companions and attendants, Sir John Harington, son, and, for a short time successor, to the first Lord Harington of Exon, a young man of great attainments and the most amiable qualities, seems alone to have enjoyed his intimacy. Among the very few private letters written by the Prince which have been preserved is one to this gentleman, on some subjects of classical criticism, full of sprightliness and ingenuity, but without a single expression of kindness. Still less proof have we of his sacrifices to the tender passion. Cornwallis tells us, in terms which sound oddly enough in our day, that, "having been present at great feasts made in the Prince's house, to which he invited the most beautiful of the ladies of the Court and City, he could not discover by his Highness's behaviour, eyes, or countenance, the least appearance of a particular inclination to any of them, nor was he at any time witness of such words or actions as could justly be a ground of the least suspicion of his virtue." Some historical pamphleteers, on the other hand, insist that he had a successful intrigue with the beautiful and wicked Countess of Essex, to which they ascribe strange consequences, which will presently be mentioned; but this, if true, was but a solitary amour.

He had certainly formed for himself a line of political conduct which, according to the unhappy fatality, for so it seems, in such cases, was directly opposite to that of his father. His high spirit, and the activity of his nature, had irresistibly inspired him with a warlike inclination; and the strictness of his moral and

religious habits and exercises, together with an utter aversion to the Romish church, rendered him the idol of the puritans, to whom, on his part, he gave many indirect proofs of favour. "He was saluted by them," says the severe, but sagacious Osborne, "as one prefigured in the Apocalypse for Rome's destruction." He seems to have been determined never to marry a Roman Catholic. James, in 1611, had proposed to him the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and Raleigh, then a prisoner in the Tower, whom the King feared, and therefore hated, and of whom Henry had said that no one but his father would "keep such a bird in a cage," wrote, doubtless with the Prince's approbation, since they were dedicated to him, two admirable invectives against the match. A princess of Spain was afterwards offered to him; and in the spring of 1612 a negotiation was commenced for his marriage to a sister of Louis the thirteenth of France, which subsisted even at the time of his death, of the probable termination of which we may judge from his own declaration in his last hours, that he believed the Almighty had visited him with his grievous distemper to punish him for having listened to overtures of marriage with Roman Catholics. His discretion, his temperance, his oeconomy, and the severity as it may be called, of his manners, operated with the effect of satire and reproach on the contrary dispositions in the King, who by degrees became jealous of him, and in the end probably considered him as a formidable rival. Indeed James must have possessed supernatural philosophy to have endured the extent of his son's popularity. "The palpable partiality," says Osborne again, "that descended from the father to the Scots did estate the whole love of the English upon his son Henry, whom they engaged by so much expectation, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince, merely human, to bring so much felicity into a nation as they did all his life propose to themselves at the death of King James."

These extravagant hopes were suddenly blasted in the autumn

of 1612. He was then in his nineteenth year. Some change appeared to have taken place in his constitution a few months before: he grew pale and thin, and more serious than usual; had heavy pains in his head, and occasional fainting fits; and generally received a temporary relief from sudden bleedings at the nose, which of late had been wholly suspended, owing, as it was thought, to his imprudent practice of too frequent swimming in the Thames when at his palace at Richmond. In August, and when the weather was uncommonly hot, he rode post in two days to Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rutland, to meet the king on his progress, and returned suddenly from the fatiguing ceremonies of that visit, to prepare a great feast for the court on his taking possession of the royal house of Woodstock, which his father had lately assigned to him. These violent exertions produced an aggravated attack of his indispositions, which caused at length what his medical attendants conceived to be a fit of ague, but what was in fact the commencement of a fever of the most furious character. His numerous physicians, according to the error of that time, plied him for six days with what they called cordial restoratives, and vehemently increased the malignity of his disease. One only, and his name should be recorded, Sir Theodore Mayerne, urged the necessity of bleeding, but he was obstinately opposed by the rest of the troop. Two days were suffered to pass before they could be brought to consent, and even then it was deferred till the next morning, though nature had, previously to Mayerne's suggestion, given them the signal for his cure, by one of those sudden discharges of blood from the nose to which he had been accustomed, and which produced an immediate temporary relief. At length only seven or eight ounces were permitted to be drawn, the miserable sufferer, says Cornwallis, "desiring and calling upon them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant." "This day, after bleeding," adds Sir Charles, "the Prince found great ease, insomuch as since the beginning of his

sickness he had not found himself so well ; his pulse inclining towards a more gentle motion ; missing his former cruel doublings ; and his former accidents being less, and more mild :" yet, incredible to tell, the bleeding was never repeated. Delirium, and agonizing convulsions soon followed. Still, such was the strength of his constitution, that he lived for some days, displaying in his intervals of reason the most beautiful and affecting example of patience and fortitude. He died on Friday, the sixth of November, 1612, notwithstanding that the Sages, as Cornwallis informs us, " had lately applied to the soles of his feet a cock cloven by the back, and had redoubled their cordials in number and quantity." A most exact and lengthened journal of his illness, and of the means resorted to for his cure, may be found in that gentleman's narrative, exhibiting perhaps the most extraordinary and frightful instances extant of medical presumption and imbecility. Rumours were spread that he died by poison, and Carre, Viscount Rochester, then the guilty suitor, and afterwards the more guilty husband, of the Countess of Essex, was for a time suspected as the murderer ; but they obtained little credit, and certainly deserved none.

Sir Charles Cornwallis concludes his little book with the following sketch of the person of this extraordinary young man. " He was of a comely tall middle stature, about five feet and eight inches high ; of a strong, strait, well made body, as if nature in him had shewed all her cunning ; with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste ; of an amiable majestic countenance ; his hair of an auborn colour ; long faced, and broad forehead ; a piercing grave eye ; a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown."

Engraved by R. Cooper.

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

OB. 1614.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CARLISLE.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, June 1, 1825.

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HENRY HOWARD,

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

THE circumstances of this nobleman's life have been made the subjects of discussion more minute than impartial, and of animadversion more severe than just. While his talents and acquirements ornamented the name even of Howard, his conduct perhaps threw some shades on its almost unvaried purity. He was one of the very few of that family who ever condescended to practise the littlenesses of the statesman or courtier, and he has been, if the expression may be allowed, posthumously punished for so forgetting himself; but, as praise or blame, especially the latter, generally outrun the merits which respectively call them forth, his character seems to have been devoted to much undeserved censure.

He was the second son of that prodigy of worth, and talent, and gallantry, Henry, Earl of Surrey, by Frances, third daughter of John de Vere, thirteenth Earl of Oxford. He was born at Shottisham, in Norfolk, in 1539, and was yet an infant when his family was overwhelmed by that persecution of it which terminated the enormities of the reign of Henry the Eighth. As he grew towards manhood, he found himself a younger son, standing alone in the world. His admirable father had been snatched from him by an unjust sentence, and an ignominious execution. His grandfather, Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, had barely outlived the proscription of his House; and his only brother, the youthful heir to mutilated estates just released from an attainder, was waiting the very uncertain decision of Elizabeth's caprice as to the future fortunes of his family. Cramped and chilled by these untoward circumstances, and avoiding with

difficulty the gripe of poverty, Lord Henry Howard became selfish and misanthropic, and suffered his vigorous and sober understanding to degenerate into a mysterious cunning which became habitual, and seems to have influenced his conduct through the whole of a long life.

He received his education first at King's College, and afterwards at Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, and left that university, says Bishop Godwin, with so high a character for erudition, that he was commonly called "the learnedst among the nobility, and the noblest among the learned." Having passed some years in foreign travel, he returned to work his way as well as he could in the most jealous and capricious court then in Europe. Neither his merits nor his misfortunes obtained any consideration from Elizabeth beyond his restoration in blood in her first year; nor was it till towards the conclusion of her long reign that he obtained from her a degree of favour which consisted merely in the empty graces of royal civility, and that he seems to have owed to the influence of Essex, with whom he lived in a strict intimacy. Her distaste to him, however, was not altogether unreasonable, for he was all but a declared Papist, and had been strongly suspected of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots; that cause for which his elder brother bled on the scaffold.

He was amply compensated by her successor. He had been deeply engaged in the negociations with that Prince which were carried on by Sir Robert Cecil, with not less activity than secrecy, in the concluding years of Elizabeth's life, and experienced an uncommon share of his gratitude. James, on his accession, summoned him to the Privy Council; on the first of January, in the succeeding year, made him Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; and on the thirteenth of August following advanced him to the dignities of Baron Howard, of Marnhill, and Earl of Northampton. He was soon after constituted one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal; was installed a Knight of the Garter on the

twenty-fourth of February, 1605; and on the twenty-ninth of April, 1608, appointed Lord Privy Seal. He was also Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and High Steward of Oxford. His conduct in his several public offices stands unimpeached, but his private intercourse with the great men of his time has been charged with treachery. He is said to have alternately played off, as the phrase is, Essex and the two Cecils against each other. Certain it is that letters remain from him to those several parties full of the high toned and hyperbolical expressions of regard which rendered ridiculous the epistolary correspondence of the great in that time, and which he bestowed on all the three in an equal measure. If flattery of that sort can be deemed treachery he was treacherous indeed; but if it cannot, he must be held guiltless of the charge till stronger evidence can be produced: at present we know of none.

His memory has been defamed too by an accusation of a far deeper cast, which seems not better proved than the former. He had the misfortune to be great uncle to Frances, Countess of Essex, the frightful circumstance of whose divorce from her Lord, and subsequent marriage to Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, have been so largely detailed by the historians and memoir-writers of that time. Whether to salve what might have remained of the Countess's reputation, or to court the good graces of Somerset, the new favourite, it is impossible to say, but he certainly made himself a busy instrument in forwarding the match. Possessed of that fact, a late noble writer who had a remarkable talent for defaming the characters of the illustrious dead with the greatest imaginable neatness and politeness, determined to load it with all the mischief of historical conjecture, and, on the authority of two letters in Winwood's Memorials, roundly accuses Lord Northampton of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was said to have been poisoned in the Tower, through the vindictive intrigues of the Earl and Countess of Somerset.

The letters in question were copied by the editor of Winwood

from the originals in the Cotton Collection, now in the British Museum, where they may be found in the volume marked "Titus B 4, page 479," &c. They were written by the Earl to Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, immediately after Overbury's death in his custody there. In the first of them (that is to say in that which stands first in the book, for they are not dated), the Earl, by Lord Rochester's (afterwards Somerset) request, desires that "the body may be delivered to any friend of the deceased who may wish to do him honour at his funeral;" and then expresses a doubt whether it may not have been already buried, "on account of its unsweetness, the deceased having been afflicted with some issues." In a postscript he desires the Lieutenant to inform himself whether "this grace hath been afforded formerly to close prisoners." This letter has a remarkable indorsement in the hand-writing of the Lieutenant, stating that on Overbury's death he had written to the Earl to know what he should do with the corpse, "acquainting his Lordship with his issues, and other foulness of his body;" and that the Earl, in answer, had desired him to have it viewed by a jury; and that he would "send for Sir John Lidcote, and as many else of his friends to see it as would." Elwes adds, "the body was very noisome, so that, notwithstanding my Lord's direction, I kept it over long, as we all felt."

In the second letter, to which the indorsement just now cited seems to refer, the Earl earnestly desires that the body may be buried with as little delay as possible, "for," says he, "it is time, considering the humours of the damned crew that only desire means to move pity, and raise scandals." In this letter, however, which is very short, he directs, four several times, that the body should be viewed by the friends of the deceased, previously to its interment.

It would have been but honest in the editor of Winwood to have noticed a third letter, in the same volume, written before Overbury's death, which could scarcely have been overlooked by

any one who inspected the originals. Had he inserted it, however, it would have deprived him of the opportunity of uttering the malignant hint which we find attached to the others, in one of the very few notes which are scattered on the pages of his collection; and, by omitting it, he has misled the opinions of Lord Orford, and of Sir Egerton Brydges, the candour and accuracy of whose pen are even equal to its elegance. In that third letter, the Earl informs Sir Gervase Elwes that, "in compliance with old Mr. Overbury's petition, it is the King's pleasure that Mr. Doctor Cragg, this bearer, shall presently be admitted to Sir Thomas Overbury, that, during the time of his infirmity, he may take care of him, and as often as in his judgment to this end he shall find reason."

Surely these letters, instead of tending to criminate the Earl, exonerate him: nay, they go much further, for they throw a strong doubt on the received opinion that Overbury did not die a natural death. If he were really murdered, can we believe that the Lieutenant of the Tower, and his officers; the physician who attended Sir Thomas, and by the appointment too of his father, in his last illness; the jury, and his own private friends, who viewed his body after death; could possibly have agreed to conceal so horrible a fact? or, if we could suppose that they did so agree at the time, that not an individual, of so many, should ever have divulged it? With these questions, however, this work has no concern, further than as they may apply to the subject immediately before us, to which, after this apology, we may now turn with more satisfaction.

The Earl of Northampton saved from those revenues which himself had acquired a very considerable sum, without unbecoming parsimony, for he was famous for his scrupulous imitation of the grandeur of the ancient nobility in his public appearance, and in his household; and he built that sumptuous palace at Charing-Cross, which was then called Northampton, afterwards Suffolk, and of late years Northumberland-House, in which he ended his

ife. He founded also three hospitals; at Greenwich, at Clun in Shropshire, and at Castlerising in Norfolk. His learning, as I have observed, has been highly celebrated, and his natural talents were little inferior to his learning. He employed himself much in his leisure hours with literary composition, and in 1583 printed, at the Earl of Arundel's Press, a very large work, with the following prolix title, which will sufficiently explain its nature and intention—"A Defensative against the Poyson of supposed Prophesies, not hitherto confuted by the penne of any man; which, being grounded eyther uppon the warrant and authority of old paynted Bookes, Expositions of Dreames, Oracles, Revelations, Invocations of damned Spirits, Judicialls of Astrology, or any other kinde of pretended knowledge whatsoever, de futuris Contingentibus, have been causes of great disorder in the Commonwealth, and cheefely among the simple and unlearned People. Very needfull to be published at this time, considering the late offence, which grew by most palpable and grose errours in Astrologie."

The "late Offence" to which he alludes, and which, as Lord Northampton seldom acted without a particular view, probably furnished the motive to this Treatise, is not to be discovered in history, but the book itself is indeed the result of a prodigious extent of study, equally abundant in scriptural and classical learning, and full of good argument, continually illustrated by curious anecdotes, as well modern as ancient. The rest of his works remain unpublished. Two Treatises to justify female government, the one in the Harleian, the other in the Bodleian Collection: "An Abstract of the Frauds of the Officers of the Navy," among the King's MSS. "A Defence of the French Monsieur's desiring Queen Elizabeth in marriage," also in the Harleian; and some devotional pieces in other departments of the library of the Museum. But the great treasure of his remains is a volume of twelve hundred pages, in the Cotton MSS. marked Titus C 6, consisting of private letters, speeches in Parliament,

small treatises, prayers, detached maxims and observations, poems, &c. written at all times of his life, and here transcribed almost wholly with his own hand. In the authorities which I have consulted for the present purpose I find no notice taken of this very curious collection, which, even from the cursory inspection which I have been able to bestow on it, appears to contain matters of inestimable importance to the history of his time.

This extraordinary man died, unmarried, on the fifteenth of June, 1614. "The Earl of Northampton," says Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon, "having, after a lingering fever, spent more spirits than a younger body could well have borne, by the incision of a wennish tumour on his thigh, yesternight, between eleven and twelve of the clock, departed out of this world."

In his Will, which is dated only on the day before his death, is this passage—"I recognize, with all the loyallnes of my harte, the exceeding extraordinarie love, favour, and bountie, of my most deare and gracious Soveraigne, whom I have found ever so constant to me his unworthy sarvant as no devises of myne enimyes could ever draw or divert his goodnes from me. I most humbly beseech his excellent Majestie to accept, as a poore remembrance of me his faythefull sarvant, a ewer of golde, of one hundred pounds value, with one hundred jacobine pieces of twenty two shillings a peece therein; on which ewer my desyer is there should be this inscription—"Detur Dignissimo." He was buried in the church of Dover Castle.

Engraved by J. Jenkins.

CHARLES HOWARD, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

OB. 1624.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON.BLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, April 1. 1825.

CHARLES HOWARD,

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

Of his illustrious house, distinguished through the whole of an uncommonly long life by the unlimited favour and confidence of two sovereigns, and yet more by the most spotless honour and integrity, was the eldest son and heir of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham, (a younger son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk), by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coyty, in Glamorganshire. He was born in the year 1536. His father, who, among other great employments, had held those of Lord High Admiral under Mary, and Lord High Chamberlain to Elizabeth, initiated him when very young in naval service, and then brought him to the court. He possessed every qualification likely to gain the partiality of the virgin Queen; an eminently fine person and countenance; a sweet and frank temper; and a deportment at once elegant and dignified; and, in addition to these powerful recommendations, he was a Howard. They had their full effect; but Elizabeth, whose affections, violent, even to folly, as they might often seem, seldom interfered with her policy because both were grounded in self-love, for a long time distinguished him only by a gracious familiarity: he was yet too young to be trusted, and remained without public employment for ten years after her accession, save a ceremonious embassy in 1559 to congratulate Charles the ninth on his succeeding to the throne of France. At length in 1569 he was sent into the north, with the appointment of General of the Horse in the force then led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and behaved with much bravery, and in the following year commanded a squadron

in the Mediterranean. He was soon after elected knight of the shire for Surrey, and in 1573 succeeded to the peerage, and to his family estates, on the death of his father, who was at that time Lord Privy Seal, which office Elizabeth immediately bestowed on him, and before the close of that year appointed him Lord Steward of the Household, and gave him the order of the Garter. Several writers who affect to look deeply into the political motives of that time insist that he was thus suddenly exalted to counterpoise the enormous power of Leicester; but it is needless to seek further for the ground of his favour than to the Queen's personal regard, and entire conviction of his honesty and fidelity.

On the death of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1585, he was raised to the post which he most desired, and for which the whole character of his nature seems to have best qualified him, and became Lord High Admiral. The great design of the Spanish invasion was already suspected, and was soon after clearly ascertained, and it was in contemplation of the arduous conflict which seemed approaching that Elizabeth reposed in him this weighty trust. "She had," says Camden, "a very great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and she knew him, by the sweetness of his behaviour, and bravery of his conduct, to be skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem amongst the seamen of her navy." He applied himself to the vast preparations which had become necessary with a vigour and minuteness of attention which the whole kingdom applauded, and put to sea early in the spring of 1588. The Armada sailed about the same time, and, as is well known, was scattered by a tempest which Elizabeth's ministers believed had rendered the expedition hopeless: Walsingham therefore, to spare expence, dispatched an express to recal four of the largest ships, which the Lord Admiral ventured to refuse, requesting that he might be allowed to retain them at his own private charge. He then sailed to the coast of Spain, and having satisfied himself of the actual state of the

2

enemy's fleet, returned to Plymouth, where he remained till the nineteenth of July, when, on the approach once more of the Armada, he again put to sea in haste, animating his officers by the cheerfulness of his courage, and his men by partaking with them in the bodily labour which the urgency of the moment demanded. The celebrated victory which followed may be honestly ascribed in a great measure to his zeal, his bravery, and his good judgment.

Elizabeth, always sparing of grateful acknowledgments, rewarded this service by the grant of a pension, which, as the amount has not been recorded, we may conclude was not extravagant, and the Admiral now remained for a long interval unemployed. The expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, a favourite theme of English history, again called him into action, and was committed jointly to himself and the Earl of Essex. It was eminently successful; but Essex, admirable in all but coolness and prudence, blamed Howard for that caution in the conduct of it which his own rashness had rendered necessary. The Admiral, on the other hand, in a spirit of candour and benignity which always distinguished him, bestowed praises on Essex which perhaps were scarcely merited. He begins a letter to Lord Hunsdon, giving a full account of the proceedings of the army and the fleet, by saying, "I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is; and I protest, in my simple poor judgment, a grave soldier, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed." Essex's censure was disregarded by Elizabeth, and not resented by the Admiral, on whom, in the autumn of the following year, the Queen conferred the dignity of Earl of Nottingham. Essex, who was at that time absent on what has usually been called "the island voyage," returned in a flame, because the new Earl, uniting to that title the high offices which he held, had acquired the precedency; and Elizabeth, to restore it to her angry favourite, conferred on him the office of Earl Marshal: Nottingham, in his turn, now became

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disgusted; retired from the court, and resigned his white staff, which, however, he was soon prevailed on to resume; while the Queen at once separated the rivals, and bestowed a further gratification on Essex, by placing him in the arduous post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

These circumstances occurred in the years 1598 and 1599, a period if not of danger at least of considerable apprehension. Elizabeth, ever anxious to prove the affection of her subjects, assisted in exciting their fears for the safety of her person, and witnessed them with complacency. In the furtherance of this object she called on the city of London to reinforce her navy with sixteen ships, and her army with six thousand men, an order which is said to have been completely executed in the space of a fortnight; and, to give an air of greater solemnity to her preparations, invested Nottingham with the supreme command of all her forces by land and sea, and with the rare and superb title of Lord Lieutenant General of all England. The return of Essex from Ireland, and his mad insurrection in London just about this time, gave the colour of an almost prophetic policy to her caution. Nottingham commanded in person the troops which surrounded Essex-house, and it was to him that the unhappy Earl surrendered, and was received with that urbanity and kind consideration which noble hearts ever bestow on fallen enemies. The gallant and sensitive Essex, charmed with this generosity, seems for the short remnant of his days to have taken his adversary even into his confidence: Nottingham frequently visited him in the Tower; consoled him with the affectionate zeal of a friend; and received from him in return a contrite acknowledgment of the injustice of his former enmity. He sat in judgment with the Peers, and evinced an earnest anxiety for truth and justice on the trial of Essex, and ministered gratefully to his departed spirit by procuring from the Queen first a reprieve, and then the pardon, of his beloved friend, and fellow offender, the Earl of Southampton. Elizabeth's health soon after declined. In the singular aberra-

tions of temper which preceded her dissolution Nottingham alone is said to have possessed any influence over her conduct. She submitted at his persuasion to take nourishment and medicine, and to relinquish a strange resolution which she had made to sit continually in her clothes on the floor of her apartment. It was to him, in her last moments, that she uttered the expressions so often quoted concerning the succession to her throne.

James, to whom the family of Howard was even more dear than it had been to Elizabeth, retained him in the great offices of High Admiral and Lord Steward; placed him in the renewed commission for exercising the office of Earl Marshal, in which he had sat in the late reign; and appointed him Great Steward of England for the solemnity of the coronation. That Prince had mounted the throne with a determination to make peace with Spain, and the Lord Admiral was selected to act the part of ambassador extraordinary for that unpopular service. He had little experience in state affairs, but his age, his rank, his fine person and manners, and his magnificent profusion, peculiarly qualified him for a mission of ceremony to the most ceremonious court in Europe, for he had little to do beyond the ratification of the treaty. It has been said, that he solicited on this occasion for a Dukedom, but could not prevail, the dignity of his posts being esteemed sufficient to satisfy the Spanish pride. The equipment of his Embassy was unusually splendid: he was attended by five hundred persons, exclusive of six young noblemen, and fifty knights; had an allowance of fifteen thousand pounds for his expences; and received presents on quitting the court of Madrid to the value of twenty thousand, together with a pension of twelve thousand crowns; yet his charges in this excursion, which did not occupy quite three months of the spring of 1604, so far exceeded those various supplies as to require a large additional sum from his own purse. His estate was moderate; his expenditure had been always enormous; and this last sacrifice to the honour of his country had painfully embarrassed

his affairs. To add to his vexation, James received him coldly at his return, and at length expressly blamed him for having used that state and magnificence in his embassy which had increased his private difficulties; but this umbrage soon blew over.

He was now grown old, and desirous of ease, and his own native good humour, together with the solicitations of a young wife (for he had lately taken a second, when in his sixty-eighth year) easily converted him into a mere courtier. We find him no more in any public service, unless the convoying the Princess Elizabeth and her bridegroom, the Elector Palatine, to Flushing in 1612, may be esteemed such. At length, in 1619, he was prevailed on to resign his office of High Admiral to the aspiring Buckingham. This concession seems to have been extorted partly from his necessities, and partly from his pride. It was purchased from him by an annuity of one thousand pounds; the remission of a debt due from him to the crown of eighteen hundred; and by a patent of precedency, giving him place according to the date of a grant of the Earldom of Nottingham by Richard the second to his ancestors the Mowbrays; and Buckingham presented the Countess with three thousand pounds. That favourite acknowledged his obligation too by peculiar marks of respect and flattery; he ever after called the Earl "father," and bent the knee on coming into his presence; but the whole affair was esteemed, even at that time, when such bargains were not unusual, very disgraceful to all parties, and most of all to the King, who ought to have prevented it.

This excellent old man survived till 1624, on the fourteenth of December in which year he died, at the age of eighty-seven, at his house of Haling, near Croydon, in Surrey, and was buried in the vault of his branch of the Howards at Reigate, in that county. He was twice married; first to Catherine, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, by whom he had two sons; William, who died before him, leaving an only daughter, the wife of John

Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough; and Charles, who succeeded to the honours and estates; and three daughters; Elizabeth, wife first of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, in Norfolk, secondly of John Stuart, Earl of Carrick, in Scotland; Frances, married first to Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, afterwards to Henry Brook, Lord Cobham; and Margaret, to Sir Richard Levison, of Trentham, in Staffordshire, Vice Admiral of England. His second Countess was Margaret, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, in Scotland. It is of this lady that we have the well known romantic story of the Earl of Essex and the ring, a tale which might have enlivened the dulness of this memoir, and which should have been here inserted had it not been long since falsified by circumstantial proof of which no doubt can be entertained. By her, who survived him, and re-married to William Monson, Viscount Castlemain, in Ireland, he had two sons; James, who died young, and Charles, who succeeded to the dignities on the death of his half-brother, Charles, without issue, and in whom, himself dying also childless in 1681, the Earldom of Nottingham became extinct.

Engraved by I. S. Agar.

HENRY PERCY, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OB. 1632.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Dec. 1. 1824.

HENRY PERCY,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

WAS the ninth of his ancient house who held that splendid title. He was the eldest of the eight sons of Henry, the eighth Earl, by Catharine, eldest daughter and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, and was born in 1563. His father had been arrested in 1585, on suspicion, at least, of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots, and committed to the Tower of London, where, on the twenty-first of June in that year, he was found shot through the heart, doubtless by his own hand; and the young Earl, on the eighth of the following December, withdrew himself from the peril of suspicion, and indeed gave an earnest of his loyalty, by embarking with Dudley Earl of Leicester, to serve as a volunteer in the war then subsisting in the Low Countries. Prompted perhaps by the same policy, as well as by a spirit of gallantry and enterprise which certainly belonged to him, he placed himself among the foremost of the young nobility who distinguished themselves in 1588 by hiring and fitting out ships at their own expense to serve with the royal fleet against the Armada. These tokens of fidelity, together with an apparent, and probably sincere, disposition to avoid any concern in political affairs, and to devote his leisure to study, in which he delighted, seem at length to have gained him no small share of the good opinion of Elizabeth. She gave him the order of the Garter in 1593, and in 1599 joined him in commission with other eminent persons, to enforce in the province of York the observance of the statutes ordaining the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, the uniformity of the common prayer, and of divine service in general, the restraint of Popish recusants, and several other regulations

touching the government of the Church. It is needless to say that he was a stedfast protestant. He volunteered his sword once more at the celebrated siege of Ostend, in 1601, and had there a private quarrel with the gallant Sir Francis Vere, the angry correspondence subsequently produced by which, interestingly illustrative of the method then used in adjusting what we now call "an affair of honour," is detailed at great length, from an original manuscript, in the supplement, published in 1750, to Collins's Peerage.

Averse as he seems to have been to public business and state intrigue, he had too much ambition to look on in indifference and inactivity while so many of the nobility at the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign were pressing forward to pay their court to her successor. He attached himself with peculiar zeal to the cause of James, to whose favour the sufferings of his family for Mary, particularly of his two immediate predecessors, had given him the strongest claim, and who readily opened a secret negotiation with him on the means of securing the inheritance of the Crown. The agent of their intercourse was the Earl's kinsman, Thomas Percy, through whom Northumberland is said to have supplied the King from time to time with money, and even to have engaged to resist by force of arms any opposition which might be offered to his succession. Percy, too, who was a zealous Romanist, undertook, with the Earl's concurrence, to treat for the leaders of that persuasion with James, who, in his eagerness to gain over so powerful a body to his interest, hesitated not to give the clearest assurances of his future favour to them. He admitted Percy to his most familiar intimacy, and instructed him to commission his brother to cultivate to his utmost the good understanding thus commenced with them, which Northumberland readily undertook. While these matters were in agitation Elizabeth died, and the Privy Council chose his brother, Sir Charles Percy, to convey the intelligence of that event to James, who in his answer commanded that the Earl should be immediately

sworn a member of that body. He met the King on his road to London; was received by him with marked distinction; and was soon after appointed Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, then esteemed an office of considerable dignity in the royal household.

Hitherto all was well, but a frightful reverse of fortune awaited him. James, on his arrival in England, found the protestants so ready to admit his title and himself that he resolved, with a scandalous facility, not only to break the verbal engagements for indulgence and toleration which he had so lately made to the Papists, but even in a manner to sacrifice them to his new friends, by enforcing the penal statutes against recusants; and the Earl of Northumberland, little to his credit, condescended to suffer his name to stand in the commission issued to certain Lords of the Council for that purpose. The rage of the disappointed Catholics at this treachery may easily be conceived. Some share of it fell on Northumberland, but its chief object was their chosen and peculiar agent, Thomas Percy, whom they conceived to have deliberately betrayed them from the beginning, and the bitterness of their unremitting reproaches, operating on a temper at once furious and melancholy, is said to have led this unhappy man to join in the contrivance of that stupendously monstrous scheme of revenge, the Gunpowder Treason of 1605.

Percy, as is well known, died fighting against those who were sent to capture him and the other conspirators, and the Earl was immediately commanded to keep his house, and presently after committed to the custody of Archbishop Bancroft, from which, on the twenty-seventh of November, he was removed to the Tower. The annals of tyranny and injustice scarcely furnish a parallel to the iniquitous prosecution, and severe sentence, that followed. Exactly seven months after, he was arraigned in the Star-chamber on the following charges—That he had endeavoured to place himself at the head of the Papists, and to procure them toleration, (which, as we have seen, was not only with James's

MAHARAJA BEREGDI'S

privity, but at his express request)—that he had admitted Percy into the King's Band of Pensioners without administering to him the oath of supremacy, knowing him to be a recusant—that he had written after the discovery of the plot to his agents in Yorkshire, to prevent Percy, whom he supposed had fled thither, from taking up any of his money, without giving them any order for apprehending the said Percy—that he had presumed to write and send letters, without the permissisn of the King or Council, during his imprisonment—and that he had given to Percy a watch-word, and intelligence, for his escape. It may be certainly inferred from the tenor of a large collection of subsequent petitions and letters from this unfortunate nobleman to James and his ministers, which are also preserved in Collins's supplement, not only that of these despicable articles scarcely any were proved, but that he was in fact altogether blameless: yet he was adjudged to be removed from the Privy Council, from his post of Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and from his provincial Lieutenancies; disabled from holding in future any public office; fined in the enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for his life.

There is good reason to suspect that Northumberland owed this horrible sentence to the jealousy and malice of Cecil, operating on the timid temper of the King. In his negotiations with James, before the death of Elizabeth, he not only became necessarily a competitor with that minister, the activity of whose intrigues at that time with the Scottish King is well known, but made Raleigh and Cobham, between whom and Cecil an entire hatred subsisted, his coadjutors. In a curious little volume of "The secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James the sixth, King of Scotland," published at Edinburgh, about fifty years since, by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, we have abundant proof of the pains taken by Cecil's party to bias that Prince's opinion against these eminent persons, whom Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, Cecil's prime agent to that

effect, and writer of most of those letters, denominates in one of them "that diabolical triplicity." James, therefore, in spite of decent appearances, probably ascended the throne with as strong prejudices towards Northumberland as it is well known he entertained against the other two, and through a dextrous use of this disposition, thus artfully infused into the King's mind, Northumberland was now sacrificed to a bare suspicion of some knowledge of the Gunpowder Treason with the same facility as Raleigh and Cobham had been two years before to the mysterious plot in favour of Arabella Stuart. This however is no place for lengthened conjecture, or enlarged disquisition. The Earl was committed accordingly to the Tower, but he contrived to stave off for some years the payment of any part of the fine, when it was at length conceded that it should be abated to twenty thousand pounds, to be paid by three thousand annually. He demurred to this proposal, and in 1611 all his estates were seized in the name of the Crown, and leased out till the rents should produce that sum. He resented this rigorous proceeding by a letter to the Earl of Salisbury so affecting and so high spirited, not to mention the evident allusions with which it commences to that minister's rancour against him, that it necessarily demands a place in this memoir.

"My Lord,

I understand that his Majesty, by your Lordship's advice, for soe the woords of the leases import, hath granted leases to the receivers of severall countys, under the Exchequer seal, of all my lands, for the levying of a fine imposed upon me. Your Lordship's sickness hath been a cause of my forbearing to write or sende; for I holde it neither charitable nor honest in one's owne particular to urge a remorse of conscience whereby the spirit of a dying man may be troubled, but rather to forgive under silence: but, since now your Lordship is upon recovery, and that the world confidently affirmeth you are out of danger, and that my business draws to so nigh a pointe of execution, let

me put you in mind that this part you had like to have playd must come again to your acting at one tyme or other, for your foote must in the ende touch the grave; and I know no man, be he never so free a libertine, but loves to leave a memory of good deeds rather than of badd, yf there weare nothing else to be regarded.

The thing itself that is in hande is extraordinary, and not to be paralleld; for, first, it is the greatest fine that ever was imposed upon subject. Fines upon no man hath been taken near the censures, but first much quallified; then installed at easie conditions. To be levied in this fashion is not used; or if lett, yett for the benefitt of the owner, and not to his ruin. By this course is taken I see not but receivers may make what accompts they liste; pay the King at leisure, yett I not quitted of halfe that is gathered; my lands spoiled; my houses ruinated; my suits in law receive prejudice; my officers imprisoned that stand bound for me; my debts unsatisfyed; relief by borrowing taken away; my brothers and servants must suffer; my wife, children, and myself, must starve; for the receivers are by their leases to accompt but once in the yeare, for which service of gathering they have their reward 2*s.* in the pound, besides gaine in retayning the money in their handes, and commoditys many ways else. In all this provision for them I find not a thought of one penny, either for wife, child, or myself; so as there wants nothing but strowing the land with salt to make it a pattern of severe punishment; and whether these things should pearce into the hearte of a human man I leave to your Lordship to think of. I lay not downe these miserys, that must fall out of necessity, as amazed, or out of passion, for tyme hath made me very obedient to hard fortunes; but to give your Lordship a feeling of my cause, that hath ever seemed to me to be a patriot for the liberty of our country, and of our nobility, wherein we joyed to have you of our society, and not a producer of new precedents that must first or last fall on you or your's, or on those which you wish well unto,

and, generally, on all subjects. The extremity is so unusuall as none hears of it but wonders. For my own part, I hold this principle almost infallible—that where things are acted by wise men contrary to all reason, there may be concluded some misery to be hidden which appeares not, or somewhat desired secretly that will not be asked publickly.

Perhapps you will say the King commands this to be done. I know the King's commands in these money matters is oft to give, but seldom to take; and all the world knoweth the noblenes of his disposition, if but reason be sounded in his eares; for the nature of censures in the Starr Chamber are ad terrorem, not ad ruinam. Men are put into King's hands that they may use mercy, not rigour of sentence: and this hath been your Lordship's owne conceit of that court, as unwilling to be there farther than duty commanded, where nothing was to be pronounced but lashings and slashings, finings and imprisonings.

I write not nowe, neither have done any thing heretofore, out of willfullness, but merely out of fear how my acts or words might take interpretation; and whether I had cause or no I leave it to the knowledge of God, and the consciences of men: neither could any durance of my carcase, or discontentment of my mind, have stirred me up to deliver this, though but in private, had I not perceived an eminent approach of starving of a poore company of creatures that, for any thing I knowe, never wished you harme. And so, with my well wishes for your Lordship's strength, I rest your Lordship's poorest allie in England, for the tyme, for I have just nothing, as matters are handled.

NORTHUMBERLAND."

Feb. 2, 1611.

He submitted soon after to the payment of the mitigated fine; the leases were revoked; and before the end of the year 1614 he had discharged the whole of the twenty thousand pounds; but he was suffered yet for many years to linger in confinement. An attachment to literature and science, and a fondness for philoso-

phic society, happily beguiled his hard fate of much of its misery, and withdrew him for long intervals from the bitterness of unavailing regret. He was allowed a free intercourse with his illustrious fellow prisoner, the admirable Raleigh, from whom he was seldom separate. He delighted and excelled in the study of mathematics, and contrived, even under this depression, to maintain unimpaired the patronage which in his better days he had extended to several persons eminently skilled in that branch of learning. Nathaniel Torperley, a clergyman, Robert Hughes, Walter Warner, and Nicholas Hill, men of various literature, but all celebrated mathematicians, were regularly pensioned by him, and to them was added, by Raleigh's recommendation, Thomas Harriot, who had accompanied Sir Walter to Virginia, and made a survey of that colony. "Harriot, Hughes, and Warner," says Anthony Wood, "were his constant companions in the Tower, where they had a table at his charge, and were usually called the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi. Thomas Allen also," adds Wood, "an eminent antiquary, philosopher, and mathematician, was also courted to live in the family of that most noble and generous Count Henry, Earl of Northumberland, whereupon, spending some time with him, he was infinitely beloved and admired, not only by that Count, but by such artists who then lived with, or often retired to him, as Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torperley, &c. the Atlantes of the mathematic world." His zealous attachment to such studies, and perhaps to others more mystical, procured for him the denomination of "Henry the Wizard."

At length on the eighteenth of July, 1621, he was finally set at liberty, at the intercession, as is said, of one of James's minions, Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, who had married a few years before, against her father's consent, the celebrated Lucy Percy, youngest daughter to the Earl, with whom he now opened the way to a reconciliation, by this act of kindness and duty. Northumberland's health had been injured by his tedious confinement, but

the high spirit for which he was remarkable was unabated. His physicians advised him to use the waters of Bath, and he travelled thither through London in his coach drawn by eight horses, as a tacit reproof to the favourite Buckingham, who had of late commenced the vanity of using six. The remainder of his life was passed almost entirely in a dignified retirement at his seat of Petworth, in Sussex, where, notwithstanding his heavy loss, and the derangement of his affairs during his long restraint, he lived in great splendor till his death, on the fifth of November, a day already so fatal to him, in the year 1632. He was buried, with his ancestors, at Petworth.

Henry Earl of Northumberland married Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his family, who brought him four sons; two Henry's, who died in infancy; Algernon, his successor; and Henry, a nobleman of great merit, who was created by King Charles the first, Baron Percy of Alnwick, and died unmarried. They had also two daughters; Dorothy, wife of Robert, second Earl of Leicester of the Sidneys; and Lucy, whose marriage has been just now mentioned.

Engraved by G. Kellaway.

RICHARD WESTON, EARL OF PORTLAND.

OB. 1634.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, April 1. 1825.

RICHARD WESTON,

FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

The circumstances of this nobleman's life and character have never yet been collectively presented to our view, nor has the graver, till now, rendered his person familiar to us. He seems to have been one of those who were valued rather for good intentions than for able services, yet he possessed considerable talents, with most of the qualifications of a man of business, and many of a courtier. His faults, which were not abundant, arose from errors of temper, rather than of the head or heart. Distinguished by exemplary fidelity, by a zealous attachment to regal power, and by a sedulous application to the affairs of the State, he filled for some years the highest office in it, without acquiring the public regard and confidence which he appears really to have merited; and died in possession of that great post, little regretted, even by his own dependents, and leaving only a name which history seldom mentions.

His descent, both from father and mother, was from among the most ancient of the English gentry. He was the only child of Sir Jerome Weston, of Skrynes, in the parish of Roxwell, in Essex, Knight, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Cave, of Chicheley, in Bucks, a merchant of London, but of the old house of Cave, of Northamptonshire. He was bred in the Middle Temple to the study of the law, into the practice of which he came with the better grace because his paternal grandfather had risen in it to the station of a Justice of the Common Pleas, and his education, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "had been very good, both among books and men." He remained, however, not long in that profession, and probably quitted it on succeeding to the

inheritance of his patrimony, when he went abroad, and having for a considerable time applied himself to the observation of the politics and manners of the most eminent Courts in Europe, returned with a determination to seek preferment in the State. "He betook himself," says the same historian, "to the Court, and lived there some years, at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the modesty of the age, when men were seen some time before they were known, and well known before they were preferred, or durst pretend to it." He acquired, however, many friends, but in this tedious attendance, he not only consumed his fortune, which had been considerable, but contracted great debts to many who had pinned their hopes on his prospects, and was on the point of abandoning the Court in despair, when he was sent Ambassador to Prague, jointly with Sir Edward Conway, to endeavour to reconcile the Emperor and the Elector Palatine; and in the following year was entrusted alone to negotiate at Brussels with the Imperial and Spanish Ministers for the restitution of the Palatinate.

He acquitted himself in those missions with a caution and dexterity which procured for him, in addition to the approbation of his own Court, the favourable testimony of the foreign Statesmen with whom he had treated, and his fortune was now fixed: He was soon after his return received into the Privy Council, and appointed Chancellor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and on the twenty-fifth of May, 1624, obtained a commission for the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer, during the King's pleasure. Not yet arrived at the height of his preferment, he was now, however, in the zenith of his favour. The exactness and frugality with which he administered the affairs of the revenue were equally acceptable to the crown and to the people; but the chief theatre of his services was at that time the House of Commons, in which, not that it was then the peculiar province of the minister holding his office, he had the management of all matters which the King had peculiarly at heart. In this function

he carried himself at once with such prudence and courteousness, that while he essentially served James, and afterwards Charles, he gained the good opinion of the House, and had the rare good fortune for a considerable time to enjoy the high esteem at once of the King, the Parliament, and the favourite Buckingham, by whom it was believed that he was first brought into public employment.

His merits and services were nobly rewarded. On the thirteenth of April, 1628, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Weston, of Neyland, in Suffolk; and on the fifteenth of the following July appointed Lord High Treasurer, Ley, Earl of Marlborough, who had filled that post irreproachably for some years, having been purposely removed, under the pretence that his age and infirmities had disqualified him for it. This mighty elevation, which he owed to Buckingham, presently produced a change in his carriage which became evident to all with whom he had any intercourse, and excited the utmost surprise. The complaisance and condescension for which he had been always remarkable, and to which he was much indebted for his good fortune, suddenly forsook him; and, by an unaccountable perverseness, he whose proudest hopes had been at length gratified to the utmost now first manifested an inordinate pride and ambition, of which he had never before been even suspected. One of the first fruits of this strange alteration was a growing discord with Buckingham, whose tragical death is said to have prevented his discharge from the high office to which that nobleman had so lately introduced him. "He did indeed," observes Lord Clarendon, "appear on the sudden wonderfully elated: and so far threw off his old affectation to please some very much, and to displease none, in which art he had excelled, that in few months after the Duke's death he found himself to succeed him in the public displeasure, and in the malice of his enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at Court, or in the affection of any considerable dependents."

With the King, however, he still enjoyed considerable favour, of which he received the largest proofs. On the ninth of April, 1631, he was elected a Knight of the Garter; in the succeeding winter had a grant of Chute forest, in Hampshire, an estate of great value, to which was joined the office of Governor of the Isle of Wight; and on the seventeenth of February, 1633, O. S. was created Earl of Portland; nor could Charles be reasonably blamed for these bounties. It is true, that the most constant feature of Weston's political character was a vehement and sincere attachment to the royal prerogative; that he had very readily fallen in with the project of governing without Parliaments, to which the violence of the times, as well as the King's habitual notions of state policy, had induced that unhappy Prince to resort; and had been the chief adviser of the dissolution of the third which sat in this reign, as Buckingham had been of the two former; but Charles's motives to regard him arose not merely out of selfish prejudices. "Though he was not superior," says Clarendon again, "to all other men in the affection, or rather resignation, of the King, so that he might dispense favours and disfavours according to his own election, he had a full share in his master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise and able servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him, and received no other advice in the large business of his revenue; nor was any man so much his superior as to be able to lessen him in the King's affection by his power: so that he was in a post in which he might have found much ease and delight if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own province, which was large enough, and of such extent that he might at the same time have drawn a great dependence upon him of very considerable men, and have appeared a very useful and profitable minister to the King, whose revenue had been very loosely managed during the late years, and might have been easily improved; and no man better understood what method was necessary toward that good husbandry than he."

"I know not," adds Lord Clarendon, for so frequently quoting

whom no apology can be necessary, "by what frowardness in his stars he took more pains in examining and enquiring into other men's offices than in the discharge of his own; and not so much joy in what he had, as trouble and agony for what he had not. The truth is, he had so vehement a desire to be the sole favourite that he had no relish of the power he had; and in that contention he had many rivals who had credit enough to do him ill offices, though not enough to satisfy their own ambition, the King himself being resolved to hold the reins in his own hands, and to put no further trust in others than was necessary for the capacity they served in; which resolution in his Majesty was no sooner believed, and the Treasurer's pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his enemies exceedingly increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit of his friendship; and every day discovered some infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him both to public reproach, and to private animosities; and even his vices admitted those contradictions in them that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed him to the public jealousy, which is always attended with public reproach, was the concurrent suspicion of his religion. His wife, and all his daughters, were declared of the Roman religion; and though himself, and his sons, sometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have zeal for it; and his domestic conversation and dependents, with whom he used entire freedom, were all known Papists, and were believed to be agents for the rest; and yet, with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had reputation and credit with that party, who were the only people of the kingdom who did not believe him to be of their profession; for the penal laws, those only excepted which were sanguinary, and even those sometimes let loose, were never more rigidly executed, nor had the Crown ever so great a revenue from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay so dear for the favours and indulgencies of his office towards them."

These misfortunes, if the consequences of his own errors may properly be so called, produced in him a gradually increasing irritation of temper, which at length wholly disgusted his few remaining friends. He became to the last degree haughty and disobliging, and such was the unhappy mixture in his nature of rashness and pusillanimity, that every affront or vexation offered by him was instantly followed by an agonizing dread of the resentment of the offended party. Thus his carriage towards the Queen was marked by a constant alternation of petulant insults, and degrading apologies. Having provoked her to anger, his first care, on retiring from her presence, was to discover what she had afterwards said of him in her passion: receiving the news with increased alarm, he appealed sometimes to the King's authority, and sometimes to her compassion; and, in making his peace, generally betrayed those from whom he had gained the intelligence. These unhappy singularities at length visibly extended their influence to his conduct in the affairs of the State. His services were beheld with contemptuous indifference, not because either his parts or his fidelity were suspected, but because he had provoked in all sorts of people a habit of general dislike. He had none of that magnanimity which finds consolation in the consciousness of upright intentions: he became careless and negligent, and seems to have been withdrawn from this world just in time to avoid a disgraceful dismissal from office, and perhaps an undeserved impeachment.

He had, however, his eulogists and flatterers. There is in the Cabala one of those complimentary epistles with which it was then usual to treat the great at the commencement of a new year, addressed to him by Sir Henry Wotton; and exhibiting a picture of his character, in which, however highly coloured, there could not but have been some truth in the representation of every feature. It contains several notices of him which are no where else to be found, and is altogether too curious a piece to allow of abridgment. What must have been the degree of the Treasurer's

unpopularity when Wotton could not in decency avoid alluding to it, as he does, towards the conclusion of such an address?

"My most honoured Lord,

"I most humbly present, though by some infirmities a little too late, a straying new year's gift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the choicest materials. In short, it is only an image of yourself, drawn by memory from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship among the most intelligent and unmalignant men, which to portrait before you I thought no servile office, but ingenious and real; and I wish that it could have come at that day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year, somewhat like Plato's definition of felicity, with the contemplation of your own idea.

"They say that in your foreign employments under King James your Lordship won the opinion of a very able and searching judgement, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the Palatinate, which were then in brewing, and masqued with much art; and that Sir Edward Conway got the start of you, both in title and employment, because the late Duke of Buckingham wanted then, for his own ends, a military secretary. They say that under our present Sovereign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity, and provident moderation, which attributes I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your actions since—That though great exhaustations cannot be cured without sudden remedies, no more in a kingdom than in a natural body, yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours wherewith at your beginning your house was in a manner daily besieged. They note that there hath been many changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgement so cultivated and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord Burghley, under Queen Elizabeth,

whom they make your parallel in the ornament of knowledge. They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilities rarely sociable. In the character of your aspect a mixture of authority and modesty: in the faculties of your mind, quick apprehension and solidity together: in the style of your port and train as much dignity, and as great dependency, as was ever in any of your place, and with little noise and outward form: that your table is very abundant, free, and noble, without luxury: that you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greatest power in Court: that you love magnificence and frugality, both together: that you entertain your guests and visitors with noble courtesy, and void of compliment: lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your person and place, and yet an enemy to frothy formalities.

"Now, in the discharge of your function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour, viz. that you had always a special care to the supply of the navy, and likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the King's only sister, for the continual support from hence, than she hath found before: they observe your greatness as firmly established as ever was any, of the love, and, which is more, in the estimation, of a King, who hath so signalised his constancy; besides your additions of strength, or at least of lustre, by the noblest alliances of the land. Amongst these notes, it is no wonder if some observe that, between a good willingness in your affections to satisfy all, and impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall on your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a rock of diamonds.

"Now, after this short collection touching your most honoured person, I beseech you give me leave to add likewise a little what men say of the writer. They say I want not your gracious good will towards me, according to the degree of my poor talent and travels, but they say that I am wanting to myself, and, in good

faith, my Lord, in saying so they say the truth; for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own business, and it is now too late to put me in a new furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordship's proper work, and not only your noble but even your charitable goodness that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of the text, "beatus quì attendit ad attenuatum;" and so I remain, with an humble and willing heart, at your Lordship's command,

HENRY WOTTON."

The Earl of Portland died of a gradual decay, the conclusion of which was attended by a complication of the most acute sufferings. Mr. Garrard, the busy and lively intelligencer to Lord Strafford, describes his ailments, in a letter to that nobleman, of the twelfth of March, 1634, with a particularity at once affecting and disgusting. Other circumstances of some interest relative to him are detailed in that letter. The King's regard for him seems to have been undiminished to the last. Charles had given him, says Garrard, twelve thousand pounds since the preceding Christmas; visited him, when nearly in the last extremity, and remained by his bed-side "till his Majesty could no longer endure to hear him breathe with such difficulty and pain, and so loud;" and commanded the Court to wear mourning for him. The same authority states that his rental was six thousand six hundred pounds, and his debts twenty-five thousand, and that at the time of his decease he was not possessed of one hundred pounds. Lord Clarendon informs us that "all the honours the King conferred on him could not make him think himself great enough, nor could all the King's bounties, nor his own large accessions, raise a fortune to his heir; but, after six or eight years, spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater; after vast sums of money and

MAHARAJA SERF

great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed, without any sense of delight in so great prosperity, but with the agony that it was no greater, he died unlamented by any; bitterly mentioned by most who never pretended to love him, and severely censured and complained of by those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him; and left a numerous family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the fortune he had left behind him." He died at Wallingford House, in Westminster, on the thirteenth of March, 1634, O. S. and was buried in the cathedral at Winchester.

This nobleman was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of William Pinchion, of Writtle, in Essex; secondly, to Frances, daughter of Nicholas Waldegrave, of Borrley, in the same county. By his first lady he had one son, Richard, who died unmarried, and two daughters; Elizabeth, married to Sir John Netterville, son and heir to Nicholas, Viscount Netterville, in Ireland; and Mary, to Walter, Lord Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland: the second brought him three sons, and four daughters; Jerome, who succeeded to his honours, and whose only son Charles, the third Earl, fell, fighting bravely, when young and unmarried, in one of the great naval actions with the Dutch, in 1665; Thomas, on whom the titles and estates devolved on the death of that young nobleman, and in whom the honours became extinct; Nicholas and Benjamin, who died without male issue. The daughters by the second marriage were Catherine, wife of Richard White, of Hutton, in Essex; Frances, of Philip Draycote, of Paynesley, in Staffordshire; Anne, married to Basil, Lord Fielding, son and heir to William, Earl of Denbigh; and Mary, who died unmarried.

Engraved by J. Parker.

THOMAS, FIRST LORD COVENTRY.

OB. 1640.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE^ THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Jany 1. 1825.

THOMAS, FIRST LORD COVENTRY,

LORD KEEPER.

Few persons of extraordinary and highly deserved eminence have been less spoken of in history than this nobleman; but it is not difficult to discover the reasons. He possessed a sound judgment, and honest heart, and an equable temper; a manly, but well-governed, pride, which equally disdained the servilities of faction and favouritism; and an innate modesty, which kept jealousy and envy always at a distance. A pure conscience had dictated to him that the life of a judge should be almost wholly confined to his court and his closet, and he withheld himself therefore as much as possible from any concern in the affairs of the state. Public men of his character receive the reward of their merits in the praise of their grateful contemporaries, and may be said, to use a familiar phrase, to have but a life interest in their fame. His memory, however, has been celebrated by Lord Clarendon, in no common strain of eulogy; and I find in the Sloane Collection, in the British Museum, a small, anonymous, and I believe hitherto unpublished and unquoted manuscript, intitled, "Of Thomas Lord Coventrie, late Lord Keeper of the Greate Seale of England, some notable observations in the course of his life, and ultimum vale to the world." But for those two sources of intelligence he would have been nearly unknown to us.

His family derived its surname from the town of Coventry, and its fortune was made by John Coventry, who was born there, became a mercer in London, and served the office of Lord Mayor in 1425. Thomas, a junior descendant from that John, was a lawyer of eminence, and rose to the degree of a Judge of the Common Pleas. He married Margaret, daughter and heir to a

gentleman of the name of Jefferies, of Croome d'Abitot, in the County of Worcester, still the chief seat of the Earls of Coventry, and to them the subject of this memoir was eldest son and heir. He was educated under the eye of his father till the age of fourteen, when he became, in Michaelmas term, 1592, a gentleman commoner of Baliol College, where he remained for three years, and then came to London to study and practise the law, and presently gained the highest reputation in that faculty. "He was of the Inner House of Court," (the Inner Temple) says the Sloane MS. "and no sooner, by an indefatigable diligence in study, attained the barr, but he appeared in the lustre of his profession, above the com̃on expectation of men of that forme, which he made good in the manifestac̃n of his exquisite abilities." It was several years, however, before any mark of public favour was bestowed on him, and it is very probable that the profits of his extensive practice had induced him to decline many; at length, on the seventeenth of November, 1616, he was elected Recorder of London; on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, was appointed Solicitor General; and on the sixteenth received the honour of Knighthood at Theobalds. In 1620 he was promoted to the place of Attorney-general, and, soon after the accession of Charles the First, Buckingham, having prevailed on the King to dismiss his old enemy, Bishop Williams, recommended Coventry to succeed to the station, which had been so long held by that prelate, of Lord Keeper, to which he was appointed on the first of November, 1625. His letter to the Duke, signifying his acceptance of that high office, cannot but be esteemed, in every point of consideration, a singular curiosity. The original remains in the Harleian collection.

"May it please yor Grace,

I have, according to that liberty and favour wch yow were pleased to vouchsafe me, seriously thought of that greate and weighty busines wch you propounded att Southampton concerning

myself, and do now returne to yor Grace that humble and dutifull answere wch in this space my carefull thoughts have ministred; wherein I must beginn wth a syncere and harty acknowledgeme~t of that abondant goodnes of his Matie that hath bene pleased to cast his eye upon so meane a servant, and so highly to accept those poore services w^ch^, wth a faythefull hart, but a weake hand, I have desyred to perform to his Matie, and his blessed father, as to think of so emmenent an advancement for me, his unworthy minister. And I do likewise acknowledg to yor Grace all the duty and thankes that can take hold of a faythefull and true hart, that both in this, and in all other occasions that have concerned me, have, out of yor owne noblenes, interceded for me to his Matie and his royall father. And, howsoever the greatnes and weight of that place, beyond mine ability, have putt me into some perplexity of thoughts, yet, from yor first moc~on, I did, and ev^r^ shall, blesse and magnifie God, that hath moved the hart of his Matie and yor Grace to be so gracious and indulgente towards me.

Now, concerning the matter itself, I did at Southampton syncerely propound to yor Grace those reasons, proceeding from myne owne weaknes, wch might move me to declyne it, and might move his Matie to think of a more able and complete man to undergoe so weighty a service: and, having synce that tyme thought thereof again and again, I fynd nothing to abate in me the sense of myne owne infirmities, or to deliv^r^ me from my feares, but his Matie's^ thryce greate grace and goodnes, and the assurance I have of yor most noble and constant favour. But these, together wth that dutyfull obediens wch I owe to all his Matie's^ com~andements, bredd a great conflict in myself against those disabilityes whereof I am most conscious to myself, and have produced in me this resolucion; to lay myself in all humility and submission at the feet of my Soveraigne, to dispose of me as shall seeme best to his owne princely wisdome and goodnes; wch if it be that way as yor Grace told me his Highnes did inclyne, I shall

dutifully obey, and faythefully undergoe it; my hope being that God, and the King's Matie, will beare wth my infirmities, and accept my true hart, and willing endevour: and, if his Matie shall determyne otherwise, as it may be much better for his servyce and the publique, so it wilbe more agreable to my course of lief and disposic̃on, and to that more private way wch my thoughts have bene addicted to; and, wch way ever it fall, I wilbe, as I am most bounden,

Yo^{r} Grace's most humble and faythefull servant,

Kingsbury, THOMAS COVENTRYE."
13 *Septẽbr,* 1625.

Some fugitive political pieces of his time, or shortly after, have placed him among the creatures of Buckingham, but the imputation is wholly unsupported by any respectable historical evidence. In the letter before us, written on an occasion so likely to produce, and perhaps almost to justify, the hyperbolical flattery which was so much the fashion of that day, we find only the manly expressions of a genuine gratitude, and a respectful courtesy. But we can have no better proof of the untruth of the charge than from an anecdote in the pamphlet of Sir Anthony Welden, who never failed to vilify, and sometimes very falsely, those whom the Duke peculiarly favoured, or by whom he was notoriously courted. Buckingham, according to that writer, had endeavoured to persuade the King to grant to him the dormant appointment of Lord High Constable, an office of such exorbitant power that royalty itself had been known to tremble at it. The Lord Keeper had honestly advised the King to refuse: "but "Buckingham's ambition," continues Welden, "would not be so bounded; for, upon the opposing it by Coventry, he peremptorily thus accosted him, saying, 'who made you, Coventry, Lord Keeper?' He replied, 'the King.' Buckingham sur-replied, 'It's false, 'twas I did make you; and you shall know that I, who made you, can, and will, unmake you.' Coventry thus answered him, 'Did I conceive I held my place by your favour, I would

presently unmake myself, by rendering the seal to his Majesty." Then Buckingham in a scorn and fury flung from him, saying 'you shall not keep it long;' and surely, had not Felton prevented him, he had made good his word." The few enemies indeed that he had were made so by his independence and his sincerity. The Marquis of Hamilton, "whose interest in the King's affections," to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "was at least equal, and thought to be superior, to any man's; and who had more out-faced the law in bold projects, and pressures on the people, than any other man durst have presumed to do;" never forgave his obstinate refusal to affix the great seal to an illegal patent for an impost invented by the Marquis; and he was hated by the Earl of Manchester, who had been bred a lawyer, and who, according to the same noble writer, "was unhappily too much used as a check upon the Lord Keeper," when he perplexed the counsels and designs of the King's misadvisers by inconvenient objections in law.

But the character given of him by Lord Clarendon, in his glorious review of the court and ministers of Charles, however long, and already many times reprinted, must be repeated here, without diminution.

"He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom, and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the law, at least equally with any man who had ever sate in that place, but had a clear conception of the whole policy of the government both of church and state, which, by the unskilfulness of some well meaning men, justled each the other too much. He knew the temper, disposition, and genius, of the kingdom most exactly; saw their spirits grow every day more sturdy, inquisitive, and impatient; and therefore naturally abhorred all innovations which he foresaw would produce ruinous effects. Yet many who stood at a distance thought he was not active and stout enough in opposing these innovations; for, though by his place he presided in all publick counsels, and was most sharp-sighted in

the consequence of things, yet he was seldom known to speak in matters of state, which he well knew were for the most part concluded before they were brought to that public agitation; never in foreign affairs, which the vigour of his judgement could well have comprehended; nor indeed freely in any thing but what immediately and plainly concern'd the justice of the kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procur'd references to the judges. Though in his nature he had not only a firm gravity but a severity, and even some morosity, yet it was so happily temper'd, and his courtesy and affability towards all men so transcendent, and so much without affectation, that it marvellously recommended him to all men of all degrees, and he was looked upon as an excellent courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manners."

"He had in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange power of making himself believ'd, the only justifiable design of eloquence; so that though he used very frankly to deny, and would never suffer any man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclin'd to gratify when in truth he was not, holding that dissimulation to be the worst of lying, yet the manner of it was so gentle and obliging, and his condescension such, to inform the persons whom he could not satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will and ill wishes. But then this happy temper, and these good faculties, rather preserved him from having many enemies, and supplied him with some well-wishers, than furnish'd him with any fast and unshaken friends, who are always procured in courts by more ardour, and more vehement professions and applications, than he would suffer himself to be entangled with: so that he was a man rather exceedingly liked than passionately loved; insomuch that it never appeared that he had any one friend in court of quality enough to prevent or divert any disadvantage he might be exposed to; and therefore it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to him, that he retired within himself as much as he could, and

stood upon his defence, without making desperate sallies against growing mischiefs which he knew well he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own ruin. To conclude, his security consisted very much in his having but little credit with the king; and he died in a season most opportune, in which a wise man would have prayed to have finished his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the world."

To remove from this character any possible suspicion which might arise of prejudices derived from private friendship, political agreement, or professional intimacy, let us hear the censures of the Sloane MS., written, as we shall see, by one who conceived himself to have received a cruel injury from the object of his praise. It discloses too, and with a pen of no small power, many particulars which Lord Clarendon has omitted.

"The character of his outward man was this—Hee was of a middle stature; somewhat broad and roundfaced; of hayre black; and upright in his comportment and gesture; of complection sanguine, and of a comely aspect and presence. Hee was of a very fyne and grave elocution, in a kinde of gracefull lisping; so that when nature might seeme to cast something of imperfecc˜on on his speech, on due examinac˜on, shee added a grace to the perfecc˜on of his delivery; for his words rather flowed from him in a kind of native pleasingnes then by any artificiall helpe or assistance. Hee was of a very liberall accesse, and to all addresses presented, affable; and, as hee was of a very quick apprehenc˜on, soe was he of an exceeding judicious and expeditious dispatch in all affairs, either of state or of the trybunall; of hearing patient and attentive, and, that wch is not usually incident to p˜sons of dignitie and place, seldom in any distempered mood, or moc˜on of choller; and it was none of his meanest comendac˜ons that he was an helper, or coadjutor, of counsell at the barr, and understood better what they would have said in the case than what they sometymes did say for their clyents; soe

that there appeared in his constituc˜on a kind of naturall and unaffected insinuac˜on, to creep into the good opinion of all men, rather than any affected greatnes to discountenance any, but never rashly to discontent many. Through the whole course of his life his fortune was so obsequious that it seemed she alwayes waited upon him with a convoy, for in all the stepps of his rise he had ever an even and smooth passage, without any rubb or mate in the check. For his erudition, and acquisic˜ons of art, though all knew hee was learned in the sciences, and most profound in his profession, yet, such was the happines of his constellac˜on, that he rather leaned to his native strength then depended on any artificiall relyance. Without doubt hee was of a most solid and im˜oveable temper, and voyd of all pride and ostentation; neither was he ever in any umbrage or disfavour with his Prince, an argument both of his wisdome and sinceritie; neither in any fraction with his equalls worthie of exception, for that of my Lord of Suffolk's business was an act of his that told the world in how little esteeme hee held greatnes that would justle and stand in competition with justice; and it is remaining among the best of his memorialls that hee alwayes stood impregnable, and not to bee ov^{r}come by might. Amongst all and the many felicities of his life, that of his short sicknes, and the willing embracement of death with open armes, were of the most remarkable observac˜on, for it is our finis qui coronat opus, and changes our mortalitie into that of imortall glorie: for his sicknes was not contynued with any lingring, or loathsome languishing, nor soe precipitate as that it bereaved him of the abilitie of disposing of his estate to the contentment of his posteritie, or hindred the composing of his thoughts to another and better worlde."

"If in the breife collection of the state of this noble man's fortune it may fall into suspic˜on that I had some relac˜on to his p˜son, or in some one respect or other was obliged to his . . . ., I assume the liberty to tender this testimonie to the world—that I nev^{r} had refference at any tyme to his service, onely in such

addresses as fell unto my lott as a suppliant I had ever the honour of a free accesse, with libertie to speake as I could, and as occasion, and the cause required; but, that which best may satisfie the suspicions that I have given myself the least scope of partialitie or flattery, either in favour or affecc~on, it is that I beleeve noe subject ever suffred in that degree in losse of estate as I myselfe have endured, and onely by a rule of his owne, in suspending my sute in the Starchamber, the cause depending before in chancery, untill it had there a fynall determynac~on, whereby I was debarred," &c.

"He enjoyed his place," says Lord Clarendon, "with universal reputation," (or, rather, to use the words of Lloyd, who bestows on him a meagre page or two, "his place enjoyed him") "for nearly sixteen years, and sure justice was never better administered." Of all public men, in all times, he seems to have left the most unblemished reputation. The Sloane MS. mentions two grounds of aspersion against him, and two only, and defends him against each; the one, an imputation on his conduct towards some individual suitor, which has been long since forgotten, and of which no hint is any where else to be met with; the other a mere rumour, founded on envious and uncharitable inference. "He had a noble fame," says the MS., "not that he past unaccused, for envy is a constant follower and persecutor of all greatnes, and detracc~on an utter enemy of desert. The cheif charge against him was that of Bonham Norton, wherein the best and most impartiall judgements consent that his accuser and clyent was much to blame in the error of his accompt between a judge of equitye and a quondam advocate, and in a case where the accuser had before received ample satisfacc~on by the advantage and rigor of the law." And, in reply to those who had whispered that so great a fortune as his could scarcely have been honestly acquired, we find this passage — "Howsoever, thus much I say: that, could he have been lymmed to the lyfe, and I believe it, wee should not fynd in him much of blemish; and that the mayne

objection vulgarly inferred on the amassinge of his wealth could not well be done in justice, might be answered to the full in this —that, his patrimonie considered, it was the gainefullness of the places he past through, together with the great fortunes of his own, and his sonne's, intermarriages, all concurring, and falling into a frugall family, might soon wipe away all imputac~ons of the most malignant, and perswade even detracc~on itself to suffer him to rest in peace, and, as we may charitably beleeve, in glory, as his posteritie surviving remaines in his honor and fortunes." Wood quotes a single line against him from an infamous libel published during the usurpation.

The Lord Keeper Coventry sat for between two and three years in his high office before he was advanced to the peerage, but on the tenth of April, 1628, the dignity of a Baron was conferred on him, by the title of Lord Coventry, of Aylesborough, in the county of Worcester. He died, at Durham House, in the Strand, on the fourteenth of January, 1639-40, and was buried at Croome d'Abitot, having been twice married; first, to Sarah, daughter to Edward Sebright, of Besford, in that county, and sister to Sir Edward Sebright, Bart., by whom he had issue a daughter, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir John Hare, of Stow Bardolph, in Norfolk, and an only son, Thomas, his successor, of whom his mother died in childbirth. "He marryed and interred his first love," says the Sloane MS., "in the fruyt of his primogenitus, now surviving, a Baron and Peere of the realme." He remarried to Elizabeth, daughter to John Aldersey, of Spurstow, in Cheshire, and widow of William Pitchford, a citizen, and, as the same MS. informs us, "lovely, young, rich, and of good fame." She brought him four sons, John, Francis, Henry, and William, of whom the first, third, and fourth, became men of high distinction in the state; and as many daughters, all highly celebrated for their talents and their virtues, particularly the youngest, Dorothy, who, among several eminent persons, seems to stand the first candidate for the pious honour of having written

"the whole Duty of Man," together with the several other valuable treatises acknowledged by the anonymous author of that inestimable work. Those ladies were Anne, married to Sir William Savile, of Thornhill, in Yorkshire, Bart., father, by her, to George, Marquis of Halifax; Mary, to Henry Thynne, of Longleat, in Wiltshire, from which match the Marquisses of Bath; Margaret, to Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury; and Dorothy, to Sir John Pakington, of Westwood, in the county of Worcester, Bart.

Lord Coventry published two or three small pieces which are scarcely worth naming—"An Answer to the Petition against Recusants"—"Perfect and exact Directions to all those that desire to know the true and just Fees of all the Offices belonging to the Court of Common Pleas, Chancery," &c. Many of his speeches in Parliament are also to be met with in print; and a MS. remains among the Sloane papers, written by him, conjointly with Sir Julius Cæsar, intituled "Ordinances for the redress of sundry errors, defaults, and abuses, in the High Court of Chancery."

Engraved by G. Parker.

LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

OB. 1645.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DORSET.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square London, Dec.r 1, 1824.

LIONEL CRANFIELD,

FIRST EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

To those, if such are still to be found, who would maintain that James the first either felt the dignity, or understood the interests, of royalty; or possessed the wisdom, or even the cunning, of a politician; it will be sufficient to answer that he advanced this person to the first post in his government, and nearly to the highest rank of the peerage, at the precise moment when the public respect to the aristocracy began evidently to fail, and when the aid of that body was more than ever necessary to the support of the throne. Lionel Cranfield was a man of such ordinary birth that even the names and stations of his parents have never yet been accurately published. Fuller, quoting too, in some very strange mistake, the register of the parish of St. Michael Basinghall, states him to have been the "son of Randal Cranfield, citizen, and Martha his wife, daughter to the Lady Denny, of Gloucestershire." Lloyd asserts, without the smallest foundation, that "his family was ancient in that county." And Dugdale, who, had he taken the trouble to consult the records of his own college, would have instantly discovered the truth, tells us no more than that his father was Thomas Cranfield, of London; to whose name however he wantonly adds the style of Esquire, a distinction which, so lately as in Dugdale's time, was very rarely abused by any. Even Lord Clarendon believed him to be well descended. The fact is, that he was the youngest of the two sons of Thomas Cranfield, a mercer of London, whose ancestors are utterly unknown, by Martha, daughter of Vincent Randall, who seems also to have been a tradesman of that city, though really of

a gentleman's family. Armorial ensigns were granted by Camden, in 1613, to Lionel, and his elder brother, Randall.

Of his education we know nothing. The quaint Lloyd says that "he was his own tutor, and his own university;" and adds, in which Arthur Wilson and others agree, that he was bred in the Custom House, which he left for the mercantile profession; and a merchant he remained till he had nearly reached the fortieth year of his age. But he was a merchant of rare character; for, while he practised with industry the vulgar conduct of trade, he studied it as a science, and became master, if a noble term may be so applied without profanation, of the philosophy of commerce. Thus recommended, at a time when commercial revenue was in its infancy, and the necessities of the state and of the court at their utmost height, he was, by means till now unknown, brought to the notice of James the first, as a person likely to devise eligible projects to raise money. His introduction to that prince has been erroneously ascribed, owing probably to the hasty construction of a passage in Lord Clarendon's account of him, to Villiers, afterward Duke of Buckingham; but Cranfield was in some degree of favour before Villiers was even known to the King. Mr. John Chamberlaine, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated "London, July 8, 1613," says, "Sir Thomas Waller, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, is lately dead of a burning fever, and his place, they say, is bestowed upon one Sir Lionel Cranfield, a merchant of this town, of Ingram's profession, who is grown in great favour with the Lord Privy Seal, and rides ordinarily in his coach with him, and, by his means, was knighted on Sunday last." Howard, Earl of Northampton then, who at that time held the privy seal, and who was himself a projector, and a commercial theorist, was evidently Cranfield's first patron, and procured, or rather conferred on him, this his first appointment; for Northampton, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, was Governor of Dover Castle.

The commencement of Villiers's influence may be fixed with certainty to the spring of 1615, in the course of which year he

leaped from the place of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the superb office of Master of the Horse, and within very few months after obtained the Garter and the Peerage. On the twentieth of November, 1616, Cranfield was appointed a Master of the Requests; soon after, Master of the King's great wardrobe; and on the fifteenth of January, 1618, Master of the Court of Wards. These important promotions he owed, in all probability, to Villiers; for, at some time within the period just now referred to, he had married a first cousin of that favourite, who was now Marquis of Buckingham. But Buckingham had other motives for befriending Cranfield. The pursuit of selfish views, like all other things, is subject to the fashion of the time, and opposite means, in politics as well as in morals, may produce the same effect. Ministers then sold favours, instead of purchasing them; and public employments, instead of being conferred as bribes, were obtained by bribery. In the Harleian MSS. No. 1581, is the following original letter to the Marquis, unluckily without date of the year, but doubtless soliciting some one, most probably the latter, of the appointments just mentioned.

My most honnored Lord,

I know yor power, and nothinge doubte yor ho^{ble} favour towardes me, but ther are so manye and so greate competitors for that I desire, and ther wilbe so greate meanes and greate offers made unto yow for it, that it wilbe a myracle in this fallce adge yf yow shalbe pleased to continewe constant to me, the first mover, and to whom yowr L^{p} was pleased, wth a noble freenés, to engadge yor ho^{ble} worde, upon wch I do wholly relye. It is the place I onlye affecte, and in wch I desire to doe his Matie service, wch shalbe with that faithfulnes and paynes executed, yf by yor ho^{ble} favor I may have it, as no man shall do better.

I have done the King many proffitable services, wth hazard of my estate and lyfe, and no man hath beene more willinge to do yor Lo^{p} service then my selfe, for both wch I suffer, and have lost

all other frends. Now, if ever, is the tyme for yor Lo^{p} to settle me, in despight of all my enemies, by letting me fynde the fruites of yor ho^{ble} favor in this perticuler, for wch yow shall ever com̃aund my estate and lyfe to do yow service. Besides, for the present, I will bringe to yor Lo^{p}, to be disposed of at yor pleasure, fower thowsand pounds in golde, and yet will acknowledge yor favor to be such as I shall never be able to deserve. I am now upon the stadge for it, allthowghe I observed yor com̃aund most strictlye, so that I feare the contents of my former letter were discovered. To prevent the licke in this, I praye yor Lo^{p} after yow have reade it to burne it, and to wrighte me yor pleasure but in 3 lynes wth yor own hande; for, as I have made no meanes but to yor ho^{ble} selfe im̃ediately, so I humblye desire no creature lyvinge may be acquainted wth what passeth, for I will wth all willingnes subscribe to any conditions shalbe propounded, my humble suite now beinge no more but that by yor ho^{ble} favour I may be preferred before any other.

It is my misfortune to be stayed here upon the King's waightie buysines at this tyme when it were most fitt I should waight upon yor L^{p} to solicit yor favor about that wch above all thinges I desire; but within few dayes I shall waight upon yor L^{p} to give such an accompte of that imployment as I hope shalbe welcom to yor Honnor, and most acceptable to the Kinge; and therfore conclude my letter wth this humble request; that yor L^{p} wilbe pleased to keepe the Kinge free of promis abowt it, and that yor L^{p} will stand no otherwise ingaged but for me, untill I come to the courte, wch shalbe within 3 or 4 dayes, at wch tyme I hope to give yor Honnor such content as yow shall thinck this ho^{ble} favor well bestowed. And so I humblye tacke leave, ever resting yor L$^{p's}$ humble and faithfullest servant,

LIONEL CRANFELD.

London, the 28 Januarye.

He now rose with uncommon rapidity. On the fifth of January, 1620, he was sworn of the Privy Council; on the ninth of July,

in the succeeding year, advanced to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Cranfield, of Cranfield, in Bedfordshire; on the thirteenth of the following October received the staff of Lord Treasurer; and on the sixteenth of September, 1622, was created Earl of Middlesex. He fell as suddenly. James, whom he really seems to have served faithfully as well as wisely, had become weary of the thraldom in which he was held by the imperious Buckingham, and sought relief in the boldness of Middlesex, who undertook to protect him. The favourite presently began to consider him as a rival; but we find nothing of treachery in the conduct of the Treasurer towards him, nor indeed much of ingratitude, for indeed he had probably purchased most of his favours with money. Their quarrel began during Buckingham's absence with the Prince, in Spain. The expenses of that romantic expedition were enormous; the Exchequer was drained; and the Treasurer, honestly enough, as it should seem, had counselled frugality. In an original letter from him to Buckingham, No. 1581, in the Harleian papers, and in an extract from another, we find hints to that effect, as well as of their incipient division.

"My most honnored Lord,

I wrott unto yow some 10 dayes synce, wth an intendment to have sent it by my Lord of Leppington, but, he being wynde bound, I send it by this bearer. Synce the wrighting whereof the certeyne newes of the Prynce's salffe aryvall, and yor Lo^p's^, at the court of Spayne, wth yor royall entretaynement, and the content the Prynce tacketh in his Prynces, hath overjoyed the Kinge, and all honest well affected subjectes; for the ladye givinge his Highnes contentment is of more consequens, and more to be respected, then ten tymes her portion; for his Highnes beinge pleased in her, all compforts and blessings will followe them both, wch God in m~cye grant, and send a happy and speedy conclusion.

The shippes wilbe all redy to sett sale by the last of Aprill

next, for the monye to sett them forth is allredy paid. I was never put to such a plunge for monye, the som beinge so greate, and to be all disbursed so suddeynlye. I hope the Prynce, wth his ladye, wilbee as forward, wch I beseech yor L^p^ by all meanes hasten, for it is not fytt, nor wilbe salffe, that the Prynce, and the strengthe of the kingdome, wch are the shippes, should be longe owt of the kingdome together, espetially considering so manye of his Matie's^ subjectes are ill affected to the buyssines. I hope yor L^p^ will not forgett the monye. I knowe not whether the necessetye or the expectation of it are greater. I beseeche yor L^p^ tacke care of it, as a thinge of mayne importance.

The clowdes wch begane to gather upon the Prync's dep~ture, and yor L^p's^, are, upon this last newes of yor salffe aryvall, and royall intretaynement at the court of Spayne, much dispersed; but of those passag~s heraftr, when I shalbe so happy to see yow; in the meane tyme, blesse God for having a most constant and gracious maister.

There is now an excesse of kyndnesse between the Lady my wyffe and myselffe, and hope it shall not be in the power of the Dyvell himselffe ever to macke it otherwyse heraftr; and yett I assure yor L^p^ those evill spiritts that weare very active at Christmas to devyde yor L^p^ and mee are not yet quiett, but have been more buyssye then ever synce yor dep~ture: but I laughe, and skorne the basenesse and poorenes of their plotts, and so will yor L^p^ when I shall acquaint yow wth them; and therfore I besech yor L^p^ to rest confident that my love and thanckfullnes to yow, althowghe they bee worthe nothinge more then yow shalbe pleased to vallewe them, are so rooted as they cannot be shacken; no, not by that damned feinde jelosye, wch hathe so often undermyned the p~fectest love, and intirest freindship. And so, wth my humble and hartie love and service, I rest yor L^p's^ faythfullest freind and servant, and loving kynsman,

MIDDELSEX."

Chelsey, this 30th March, 1623.

And in another letter, dated from Chelsea, on the third of May following, he says, "The fleet is redy to tacke the first wynde: God grant yow maye be as redy there. I praye yor L^{p} to be as sparinge in the matter of chardges as the honnor of the service will permitt, for never man was so putt to it to provyde mony as myselfe am at this instant. And I beseeche yor L^{p} to take espetiall care to bringe as much of the portion in mony wth the fleete as is possible. I dare not wrighte how much it will concerne the Kinge."

Lord Clarendon, having stated the circumstances of his elevation, speaks thus of his fall. "He had gained so much credit with the King, being in truth a man of great parts, and notable dexterity, that, during the Duke's absence in Spain, he was not only negligent in the issuing out such sums of money as were necessary for the defraying those unlimited expenses, and to correspond with him with that deference he had used to do, but had the courage to dispute his commands, and to appeal to the King, whose ear was always inclined to him, and in whom he begun to believe himself so far fastened that he should not stand in need of the future support of the favourite. And of all this the Duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own creatures, who were near enough to observe, as from others, who, caring for neither of them, were more scandalized at so precipitate a promotion of a person of such an education, and whom they had long known for so much their inferior, though it could not be denied that he filled the places he held with great abilities."

"The Duke no sooner found the Parliament disposed to a good opinion of him, and being well assured of the Prince's fast kindness, than he projected the ruin of this bold rival of his, of whom he saw clearly enough that the King had so good an opinion that it would not be in his sole power to crush him, as he had done others in the same, and in as high a station: and so he easily procured some leading men in the House of Commons to

cause an impeachment, for several corruptions and misdemeanors, to be sent up to the House of Peers against that great minister, whom they had so lately known their equal in that house; which, besides their natural inclination to that sort of correction, disposed them with great alacrity to this prosecution. When it was first entered upon, and that the King clearly discerned it was contrived by the Duke, and that he had likewise prevailed with the Prince to be well pleased with it, his Majesty sent for them, and with much warmth and passion dissuaded them from appearing farther in it, and conjured them to use all their interest and authority to restrain it, as such a wound to the Crown that would not be easily healed. And when he found the Duke unmoved by all the considerations, and arguments, and commands, he had offered, he said, in great choler, "By God, Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that in this fit of popularity you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself:" and turning, in some anger, to the Prince, told him he would live to have his belly full of parliament impeachments: and, "When I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember how much you have contributed to the weakening of the Crown by the two precedents you are now so fond of;" intending as well the engaging the parliament in the war, as the prosecution of the Earl of Middlesex. But the Duke's power, supported by the Prince's countenance, was grown so great in the two houses, that it was in vain for the King to interpose; and so, notwithstanding so good a defence made by the Earl that he was absolved from any notorious crime by the impartial opinion of many of those who heard all the evidence, he was at last condemned to a great fine, to a long and strict imprisonment, and never to sit in parliament during his life; a clause of such a nature as was never before found in any judgment of parliament, and, in truth, not to be inflicted on any Peer but by attainder.

This severe sentence was passed on him in the winter of 1624.

His fine, twenty thousand pounds, was paid, in great part, by transfer of estates to the crown; and it has been said that Buckingham descended to accept the Earl's house and grounds at Chelsea, which was his favourite residence, as a gift from the King; but Wilson, who is too often a slanderer, and from whom other writers have derived the tale, merely says that it was so reported; and Welden, who delighted in vilifying the Duke, does not mention it. Middlesex, after his enlargement, retired to his fine seat of Copt-Hall, in Essex, where, says Fuller, " he enjoyed himself contentedly, entertained his friends bountifully, his neighbours hospitably, and the poor charitably." There is good reason indeed to believe that no public man of his time was more beloved. He seems to have been blessed with a frankness and generosity of temper which neither mercantile selfishness nor ministerial caution could chill; and a liveliness of humour, not to say wit, adorned his conversation. One of his table jests has escaped oblivion. A question having arisen on the best means of prolonging human life, he said, " Let a man get himself appointed Lord Treasurer, for no one ever died in that office." He amused himself in the earlier part of his life with poetical composition, of which too a single specimen remains, which, at the worst, entitles him to the reputation of a smooth versifier. " The following mock-commendatory verses, by this nobleman," says the ingenious editor of Lord Orford's Noble Authors, " were prefixed in 1611 to the Travels, or Crudities, of Tom Coryat, " the whetstone of all the wits;" who must have been stimulated by a preposterous species of vanity to publish so many ludicrous lampoons upon himself, before his book."

" Great laude deserves the author of this worke,
Who saw the French, Dutch, Lombard, Jew, and Turke,
But speakes not any of their tongues as yet,
For who in five months can attaine to it?
Short was his time, although his booke be long,
Which shewes much wit, and memory more strong—

An yron memory—for who but he
Could glue together such a rhapsodie
Of pretious things, as towers, steeples, rocks,
Tombes, theaters, the gallowes, bels, and stocks,
Mules, asses, arsenals, churches, gates, and townes,
The Alpine mountaines, cortezans, and Dutch clownes?
What man before hath writ so punctually,
To his eternall fame, his journey's story?
And as he is the first that I can finde,
So will he be the last of this rare kinde.
Me thinks, when on his booke I cast my eies,
I see a shop replete with merchandize;
And how the owner, jelous of his fame,
With pretious matter garnisheth the same.
Many good parts he hath; no man too much
Can them commend; some few I'le only touch.
He Greeke and Latin speakes with greater ease
Than hogs eate akornes, or tame pigeons pease.
His ferret eies doe plod so on his booke,
As makes his lookes worse then a testie cooke.
His tongue and feete are swifter then a flight,
Yet both are glad when day resignes to night.
He is not proude; his nature softe and milde;
His complements are long; his lookes are wilde:
Patient enough, but, oh! his action
Of great effect to move and stirre up passion.
Odcombe, be proud of thy odde Coryate,
Borne to be great, and gracious with the state.
How much I him well wish let this suffice.
His booke best shewes that he is deeply wise."

Explicit LIONEL CRANFIELD.

He was twice married: first to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Shepherd, a merchant of London, who brought him three daughters; Martha, wife of Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth; Elizabeth, of Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave; and Mary, who died unmarried. His second lady was Anne, daughter of James Bret, of Howby, in Leicester, by Anne his wife, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, and sister to Mary, wife of Sir George Villiers, the father and mother of the great George, Duke of Buckingham. By her he had two sons, and one daughter. James, his successor, who, by his wife Anne, daughter and coheir of

Edward Bourchier, Earl of Bath, left an only daughter, who was married to John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater. Lionel, who succeeded to his brother James, and in whom, dying without issue, the titles became extinct. And Frances, who became therefore heir to his estates, and who married Richard Sackvile, fifth Earl of Dorset, in whose eldest son and successor, Charles, the titles of Baron Cranfield and Earl of Middlesex were revived in 1675, during the life of his father. As little is known of extinct peerages, I have given the genealogical account of this family rather more at large than usual.

The Earl of Middlesex survived his disgrace, if the suffering a punishment of enormous severity for misdemeanors so trivial that history has forborne to particularize them may be so called, for more than twenty years. He died on the sixth of August, 1645, and was buried in St. Michael's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, under a superb tomb of black and white marble, with a long inscription in Latin (of which very erroneous transcripts have been given in Dugdale's Baronage, and by Dart, in his history of the Abbey), alluding to his prosecution, and asserting his innocence.

Engraved by T.A.Dean.

ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL.

OB. 1648.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JANSEN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON.BLE THE EARL OF ESSEX.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, March 1.1825.

ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL.

Lord Clarendon has drawn the public character of this admirable person with a knowledge so intimate, and an affection so sincere, and with such strength and exquisite sweetness of expression, that he who might be arrogant enough to add a single touch to so masterly a picture, could not but infringe on its truth, and weaken its effect. I shall therefore relate little more than the mere circumstances of his life, and the simple detail will be found to furnish one of the brightest ornaments on the page of English history.

He was the only son of Sir Henry Capel, by his first wife, Theodosia, sister to Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester. His father died, having scarcely reached the prime of life, and he was bred under the care of his grandfather, Sir Arthur Capel, of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, whom at length he succeeded in the inheritance of a vast fortune, which had been gained in trade, in the reign of Henry the seventh, by his ancestor Sir William Capel, a junior descendant from a respectable gentleman's family in Suffolk. He was at that time completing, at Clare Hall, in Cambridge, an education in which he afterwards proved that no pains had been spared, either by his friends or himself. His first entrance into life displayed, with a mild but incessant brightness, those qualities which, even in the best men, seldom appear during the fever of youth but in irregular and uncertain flashes. He sat down at his superb seat in Hertfordshire in the spirit of a prince and of a philosopher. His hospitality, and his charity to the poor, though scarcely equalled by those of any other English subject, were supported as much by his prudence as by his wealth and his inclination. He was distinguished by a quiet and unos-

tentatious piety, and the excellent moral dispositions which belonged to his nature were polished to the last degree by that dignified generosity of conduct in which we find the true meaning of the word honour. It is scarcely then necessary to say that he was exemplary in all the domestic relations of life. His mind was powerful, and the clearness and acuteness of his judgment were equalled by the activity of his observation. He had read much, and thought more, and wrote with an elegant and forcible conciseness which bespoke at once the gentleman and the scholar. Such was Arthur Capel, when about twenty-five years old, and on the eve of the unhappy war between the King and the Parliament.

Thus qualified and recommended, he was chosen, without opposition, to represent the county of Hertford in the Parliament which met on the thirteenth of April, 1640. He immediately joined the popular party, which then comprised many real patriots, and, on the third day after he had taken his seat, delivered to the House a petition from the freeholders of his county, remonstrating against the abuses of the star chamber and high commission courts, ship-money, and other imposts of doubtful legality, which happened to be the first of the great number about that time presented on the same subjects. That Parliament was dissolved on the fifth of the succeeding month, and he was re-elected by his neighbours, with the same unanimity, to the next, which assembled on the third of November following, in which he heartily supported the measures which were at first proposed for the fair and wholesome circumscription of the power of the crown. In this spirit, like many other honest men at that time, he went one step too far, and unwarily suffered a spirit of vengeance against past errors to grow out of his dissatisfaction with the present. He voted for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, and the keen sense which in cooler moments arose in his mind of the injustice of that measure, and of the execution that followed, which he fully acknowledged in the hour of his death, joined to a

clear judgment that enough had been before done, or fully prepared, to secure to the nation the enjoyment of the utmost degree of liberty consistent with its peace and welfare, he quitted a party which he beheld already intoxicated with a first taste of blood, and intent only upon new sacrifices and new systems.

The accession to the royal cause of a commoner in every way of so high consideration was peculiarly gratifying to the King, who immediately acknowledged his obligation. On the sixth of August, 1641, Capel was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Capel, of Hadham, in Herts. He strove for some months in the House of Peers, with equal spirit and moderation, to stem the torrent; and, finding all his efforts ineffectual, took leave for ever of that assembly, with the solemn assertion that "the King's Majesty had granted so much for the ease and security of the kingdom, that they who asked more intended the disturbance of it." He now joined Charles at York, where, on the fifteenth June, 1642, he signed, with the other nobles and statesmen there, a declaration testifying their firm conviction that the King had no intention to make war on his Parliament, and engaged himself to raise one hundred horse for his Majesty's service and security. Early in the following year, the King sent him to Shrewsbury, with the commission of Lieutenant General of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, where he collected a formidable body of horse and foot, and afforded considerable relief to the brave garrison of Chester, by keeping the Parliament forces, under Sir William Brereton, employed at Namptwich. Charles was about that time devising, with much anxiety, some method of disposing of the Prince of Wales, so as to provide at once for the security of his person, and to allay the jealousies which had been entertained of a design to send him privately to the Queen, in France. To forward these views, he nominated a council for the direction of all matters relating to the Prince, consisting of six of his most trusty servants, of whom Lord Capel was one, and the one most trusted, and this appointment drew

MAHARAJA SERFO

him from his military services. Upon receiving it he raised at his own expense a regiment of horse, and another of foot, for the Prince's standing guard, and had the King's commission to command them; and the various duties of his new charge left him little room for the performance of any other during the four succeeding years. He was, however, one of the commissioners for the King at the treaty of Uxbridge.

In the summer of 1645, the Prince being then in the west of England, Capel, who, with Lord Colepeper, attended him there, had a considerable share in the direction of the campaign in those parts, where Waller and Cromwell commanded for the rebels; but the King's affairs in that quarter having taken an unfavourable turn, owing rather to differences among his commanders than either to any signal defeat, or to disaffection in the country, the Prince was obliged to retire gradually towards the coast of Cornwall, and at length put to sea. He landed on the isle of Scilly, and, having remained there for six weeks, at the end of which he was joined by Capel, they sailed together to Jersey. The fatal battle of Naseby occurred just at this period, and the miserable King left Oxford privately, and fled towards Scotland. The Queen, who had been long anxious that her son should reside with her in France, now urged it with the most vehement importunity, but was resisted by Capel, whose gallant spirit could not endure the flight of the heir apparent while a ray of hope remained. At length the Prince himself determined to depart, and Capel remained in Jersey, waiting for orders from the King, of whose situation he was in a great measure ignorant, and who was now in fact a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, and prevented by them from communicating with his servants.

In 1647, while he resided in Jersey, the House of Commons passed a vote for the sale of his estates, to raise money for the service in Ireland, and he went to Paris to ask the Prince's permission to return home on that occasion. He came by the way of Zealand, and having compounded for his lands with the rebel

government, retired to his mansion at Hadham, to meditate at leisure on the few chances which might yet exist of rendering service to the royal cause. The King, who had been lately sold by the Scots to his subjects, and who since that monstrous event had been capriciously hurried from place to place, was soon after brought to Hampton-court, where Cromwell, with some design of policy which has never been understood, permitted to him, for some time, the free access of his friends. Capel was among the first to seize the opportunity; he waited on his Majesty there for the last time, and made that final engagement which he soon after sealed with his blood. "To the Lord Capel," says Clarendon, speaking of his conversation on that day with the King, "his Majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him; and that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England, and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other; and, therefore, desired Capel to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promised to do effectually."

Capel entered into these designs with the greatest warmth, and commenced immediately a correspondence with the leaders of the King's party, if it deserved to be so called, in Scotland. He passed the latter part of the winter of 1647, and the following spring, in arranging with them the detail of their proposed invasion of England, and in preparing for a levy of forces in his own county of Hertford. He wrote to Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, whom he had left in Jersey, to apprise him that all was ready for the projected enterprise, and to request him to recall the Prince to that Island, in order that his Royal Highness might be in readiness there to pass over into England, on receiving the news of those successes which he had fondly anticipated.

In the latter end of May, 1648, he appeared in arms, and marched into Essex, where he was joined by Goring, Earl of Norwich, who had retreated thither from the superior force of Fairfax, in Kent. They shut themselves up, with many other brave officers, and about four thousand men, in the town of Colchester, under cover of such fortifications as the time allowed them to prepare, and awaited the approach of the Scottish army, or of Fairfax. They were presently attacked, and closely besieged by that general, and defended themselves with the utmost bravery and judgment. In the mean time, the Scots, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, entered England, and were totally defeated in Lancashire; an ill-concerted, and worse executed, rising in Surrey, under the Earl of Holland, was presently subdued; and the brave but worn out garrison of Colchester, finding that the King's affairs were thus on a sudden rendered hopeless, after having sustained a close siege from the twelfth of June, to the twenty-eighth of August, submitted on that day at discretion, in opposition to the commands and intreaties of Lord Capel. The enormities and the treachery which followed the surrender of Colchester have left a deep stain on the memory of Fairfax, which our historians have generally endeavoured to transfer to that of the bloody Ireton, by whom he had then the misfortune to be accompanied. Two of the bravest gentlemen who had served in the garrison, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, were brought before Fairfax, then presiding at a council of war, immediately after he had taken possession of the town, and having been told that, after so obstinate a resistance, it was necessary, for the example of others, that a summary punishment should be executed, were led into an adjoining yard, and there shot to death. This done, Fairfax and his officers went to the town-hall, where the rest of the prisoners were confined, and addressing himself to the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel, told them, says Lord Clarendon, "that, having done that which the military justice required, all the lives of the rest were safe, and that they

should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct:" "But," continues Clarendon, "the Lord Capel had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding as to receive the visit of those who caused it with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton as cost him his life in a few months after."

Capel was sent prisoner to Windsor Castle, where he remained till November. In the mean time, a bill of attainder against him was brought into the House of Commons, to which he pleaded that Fairfax had not only promised that his life should be spared, but had also expressly acknowledged that promise in a letter to the House; upon which Fairfax, being called on by the Commons to explain his meaning in that letter, was base and cowardly enough to reply, that "his promise did not extend to any other but the military power; and that the prisoners were, notwithstanding, liable to trial and judgment by the civil power." He was now removed to the Tower of London, and, on the tenth of November, the house determined that he should be banished; but, on the first of February, voted that he should be "proceeded against for justice." On the evening of that day he escaped from the Tower, having let himself down from the wall by a rope, and waded, with the greatest difficulty, though aided by an uncommon stature, across the ditch. His friends who waited for him on the opposite bank, secreted him for a few days in the Temple, and then, for his better security, removed him to a house in Lambeth-marsh; but, in crossing the Thames thither, late in the evening, the boatman, who had by some means discovered him, gave notice to an officer in the neighbourhood, and he was seized soon after he had landed, and again conveyed to his prison. On the tenth of February, he was brought, with the Earl of Norwich, and others, before what was called the high court of justice, to be tried for

high treason, where he behaved with the most undaunted firmness, asserting that, "in the condition of a soldier, and a prisoner of war, the lawyers and gown-men had nothing to do with him, and, therefore, he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him." He urged, however, Fairfax's engagement, and concluded by insisting that, "if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he ought to be tried by his peers, which was his right by the law of the land;" to which the arch regicide Bradshaw, who sat as president, amidst many other expressions of vulgar brutality, answered, that "he was tried before such judges as the Parliament had thought fit to appoint, and who had judged a better man than himself." The court, at length, finally decided, that Fairfax's declaration "that the Lord Capel was to have fair quarter for his life," should be interpreted to mean a freedom from any execution of the sword, but not any protection from the judicial proceedings of a civil court;" and three days after, he was again brought up, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

It was necessary that the sentence should be confirmed by a vote of Parliament, and he had so many friends in the House, that his acquittal there was confidently expected; especially when Cromwell, who had been of his acquaintance, commenced a long speech on the question, "whether the prayer of a petition for his life, presented by his Lady, should be granted?" with praises of his character, and large acknowledgments of kindness and respect for him. But the hypocrite at length concluded, "that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them that the question was now whether they would preserve the most bitter and implacable enemy they had: that he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest: that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition

soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition." These expressions produced the effect which the speaker intended; the question was negatived by a majority of three or four voices; and on the ninth of March 1648, the ignominious mode of execution at first prescribed having been previously altered, he was beheaded before the great gate of Westminster Hall, having made a speech of considerable length to those around him, in which it is difficult to say whether his piety, his heroism, or his loyalty, was the most to be admired.

Lord Clarendon, to whose character of this true nobleman I have above referred, says of him, "He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described, and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty, and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort; so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy in that he thought himself most blessed in them. And yet the King's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him, and, having no other obligations to the Crown than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune, from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have

excused him for some remission of his former warmth; but it made no other impression on him than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and with the same chearfulness to obey the first summons when he was called out, which was quickly after. In a word he was a man that, whoever shall after him deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear that his courage, virtue and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel."

This nobleman, as has been here already hinted, had somewhat applied himself in the less busy time of his life to literary composition. His remains were printed in 1654, with the title of "Daily Observations, or Meditations Divine and Moral, written by a Person of Honour;" and republished some years after, with some account of his life. A few extracts from the aphorisms, which chiefly form that little volume, will serve to shew that the qualities of his head and of his heart were well matched with his greatness of soul.—"Biting jests, the more truth they carry with them, the broader scarred memory they leave behind them: many times they are like the wounds of chewed bullets, where the ruggedness causeth almost incurable hurts."—"In this tempestuous world no line holds the anchor of contentment so fast as a good conscience: man's favour is but a fine thread, that will scarcely hold one tug of a crafty tale-bearer: honour slips the noose when vulgar breath, wearied with constant virtue, is more affected to novelty: riches are gnawn asunder by the greedy teeth of devouring leviathans: but this cable is so strong and compact, that when force is offered to it the straining rather strengthens by uniting the parts more close."—"In heat of argument men are commonly like those that are tied back to back, close joined, and yet they cannot see one another."—"Those that behave themselves with an uneven and captious conversation towards others are but tell-tales of their own unpeaceable and miserable unsettled minds within themselves."—"The idle man

is more perplexed what to do than the laborious in doing what he ought." I close these quotations with some regret.

Lord Capel married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Moryson, of Cashiobury, in Hertfordshire, and had by her four sons; Arthur, his successor, who was created Earl of Essex; Henry, to whom an English Barony was granted by the title of Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, and who died without issue; Edward and Charles, who died unmarried: and four daughters; Mary married first to Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, heir apparent to William Earl of Hertford, and secondly, to Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, afterwards Duke of Beaufort; Elizabeth to Charles Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon; Theodosia to Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, son and heir to the Earl of Clarendon; and Anne to John Strangways, of Melbury Sandford, in Dorsetshire.

Engraved by E. Scriven.

JAMES STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY.

OB. 1651.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF DERBY.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Dec. 1, 1824.

JAMES STANLEY,

EARL OF DERBY.

The motto, "Sans Changer," used for so many centuries by the elder line of the noble house of Stanley, seems to have been adopted in a prophetic spirit. Invariably honourable, just, bounteous, hospitable, valiant, and magnificent; above all, invariably loyal; that family may perhaps safely challenge history and tradition to shew one defective link in its long chain of succession; to point out a single stain on the purity of its public conduct, or on its uniform exercise of the mild and graceful duties of private life. Of the Nobleman whose eulogium will be attempted in the following pages (for the simple story of his life will form his true eulogium) it is not too much to say, that his family, the peerage, and his country, are bound, in policy, as well as by affection, to cherish his memory, even with a reverential regard.

He was the firstborn of the three sons of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and at length heir general of that most ancient house. Of his youth, and early manhood, scarcely any particulars have been preserved. He has left proofs, however, that his education was worthy of his rank, and perhaps of his mind. The Court knew little of him till it had become a military Court. He was one of the many Knights of the Bath appointed at the coronation of Charles the first, when he was a very young man, bearing the title of Lord Strange, by which two years after he was summoned to Parliament; and these, with the exception of those provincial authorities which seemed almost naturally to belong to him, were the only public marks of favour that he ever

received from that Prince ; so that his devotion to the Crown may be said to have flowed even from a finer source than gratitude. He passed his time in splendid privacy ; superintending the several princely establishments of his ancient father, in Lancashire, and in the Isle of Man, where the Earls of Derby then exercised a royal sway ; cultivating the morals and manners of a numerous population, attached to him and to his ancestors by feelings which wanted but the fact of actual parentage to make them really filial ; and employing his leisure in studies not less philosophic than polite. The lamentable crisis of the grand rebellion drew him in an instant from these peaceful engagements, and he was among the first who joined the King, after the fury of the Parliament had driven his Majesty to York. He assumed the character of a soldier within very few weeks after the death of his father had invested him with the utmost extent of those views of prosperity which nothing but his engaging in the war could have frustrated.

An unfortunate change of resolution in Charles's Council not only rendered Lord Derby's first endeavours in a great measure abortive, but had an ill effect also on many of his subsequent services. It had been determined that the royal standard should be first hoisted at Warrington, and the Earl, whose influence in that part of the island was unbounded, had been sent back into Lancashire, immediately after his arrival at York, with directions to collect the military force of the county. He had performed that duty with surprising celerity and exactness, and had actually mustered on the three heaths of Preston, Ormskirk, and Bury, a force of sixty thousand men, and was proceeding to take the same course in Cheshire, and North Wales, where, as well as in Lancashire, he was Lord Lieutenant, when he suddenly received notice that the King had resolved to set up his standard at Nottingham ; and, soon after, a special letter from his Majesty, directing him to hasten to the head quarters, with such troops as he might be able to equip completely. In the mean time great numbers of the Lancashire men, piqued at the disappointment, returned to their

homes, resolving to stand neuter, while many others joined the rebels, and aided them considerably in seizing on the town of Manchester. The Earl, however severely mortified, speedily raised among his friends and tenants three regiments of foot, and as many troops of horse, which he clothed and armed at his own expense, and waited on the King who was then at Shrewsbury, to receive his orders for the disposal of them. He was commanded to return to them with the utmost speed, and to endeavour to take Manchester by a bold and sudden attack; and having accordingly made all preparations, even to fixing the hour for the assault, he received orders the night before to join the King, without a moment's delay, with his force, which was then most imprudently placed under the command of others, while he was desired to repair again into Lancashire, to make new efforts to raise men in a country dispirited, offended, and now in no small degree disaffected. Lord Clarendon, whose report of all these matters is given too much at large to be admitted here, seems to treat the Earl's concern in them with less than his usual candour.

Lancashire however was now nearly lost to the Crown. The Earl, with much difficulty, collected a sufficient force to take Preston and Lancaster by storm, and led it personally in those enterprises with the greatest bravery, and was preparing to attack Manchester, when this new levy was also called away to the main army, and he was once more left without the means of using offensive measures. Nothing now was left for him in his county but to fortify his mansion of Latham, in which he was busily employed when he received intelligence that the rebels had planned an attack on the Isle of Man, and immediately sailed thither, leaving the completion of his works at Latham, and it's defence, to his Countess. Of the romantic excellence of that lady's conduct in the execution of her charge I shall say nothing more in this place, but will endeavour in another part of the work to do that justice to her memory which has been hitherto in a great measure neglected. Latham House, the siege of which

commenced in February, 1644, was defended first by the Countess in person, and afterwards by one of the Officers whom she had originally placed in it under her command, for more than two years, and was at last surrendered by a positive order from the King, having cost the enemy no less than six thousand men, and being one of the last fortified places in the kingdom that had held out for his Majesty. The Earl, who had returned from Man during the siege, found Prince Rupert unsuccessfully besieging the town of Bolton, which was in the midst of his own territory, and which, with the aid of some companies of his old provincial soldiers, who at his request were placed under his command for that peculiar service, he carried by a furious assault in the space of half an hour, and was the first man who entered it. He now returned to the Isle of Man, together with his Countess, leaving his children in England, who were soon after basely seized and imprisoned, by an order of the House of Commons. Offers were repeatedly made to him by that body to restore them, and to leave him in quiet possession of his whole estate, if he would give up the island; but he constantly refused, even after all hope for the royal cause was lost, saying that "he would never redeem either by his disloyalty." Affronted at length by solicitations which evinced a doubt in those by whom they were used of his courage or fidelity, he sent the following glorious reply to a proposal made to him by the regicide Ireton, who was frequently the organ of the party on such occasions, and from that moment the rebels vowed the deepest vengeance against him:—

"I received your letter with indignation, and with scorn I return you this answer—that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me, that I should, like you, prove treacherous to my Sovereign; since you cannot be insensible of my former actings in his late Majesty's service, from which principle of loyalty I am in no way departed. I scorn your proffers: I disdain your favours: I abhor your treasons: and am so far from delivering this island to your advantage, that I

will keep it, to the utmost of my power, to your destruction. Take this final answer, and forbear any further solicitations ; for, if you trouble me with any more messages upon this occasion, I will burn the paper, and hang the bearer. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice, of him who accounts it the chiefest glory to be

His Majesties most loyal and obedient Servant,

DERBY."

Castle Town,
12th July, 1649.

He remained in the Isle of Man till the year 1651, when the young King, having resolved to leave Scotland, at the head of an army unhappily commanded rather by Presbyterian Ministers than by it's Generals, dispatched an order to the Earl to meet him in Lancashire, which he instantly obeyed, and received there the King's command to endeavour once more to raise troops in that county. Charles, who was then repairing by forced marches to Shrewsbury, left with him a body of about two hundred horse, consisting mostly of officers and gentlemen, to enable him, should he prove unsuccessful in his levy, to follow the army with a better chance of security. Having employed trusty persons to publish the news of his arrival, and to give notice of his views, he took up his quarters, within two or three days after he had left the King, in the town of Wigan, to await the appearance of his friends ; where on the very next morning he was attacked by a large body of militia, and regular troops, which Cromwell had unexpectedly detached, under the command of Lilburn, to harass the rear of the King's army on its march, and to pick up such stragglers as might not keep pace with it. The most heroic, but at length ineffectual, resistance was made for two hours by the Earl, and his small band, against a force of three thousand horse and foot. It is recorded that he received in this sanguinary skirmish seven shot on his breast plate, thirteen cuts on his beaver, and five or six wounds on his arms and shoulders, and

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that he had two horses killed under him. He found means however to escape, almost alone, through Shropshire and Staffordshire, to the King, at Worcester, reserved for a harder fate.

In the evening of the third of September, the day on which the fatal battle was fought close to that city, his wounds yet bleeding, for only eight days had passed since his fierce encounter at Wigan, he secretly and safely conducted Charles, by St. Martin's gate in Worcester, from the horrors and dangers which surrounded him; directed his Majesty to the since celebrated retreats of White-ladies, and Boscobel, in each of which himself had been within a few days before sheltered; and took leave of the King for ever. He now travelled, with as much speed as his condition would allow, towards his own country; but had scarcely arrived within Cheshire when he was attacked by a party commanded by a rebel Major of the name of Edge, to whom he surrendered, under a promise of quarter. The Parliament, however, sent down to Chester a commission to nineteen persons of it's military in that part of the country, all of whom were notoriously his personal enemies, to form themselves into what was called a High Court of Justice, and "to try the Earl of Derby for his treason and rebellion." He was of course condemned to die; and these mock judges indulged themselves in the vulgar barbarity of sending him to suffer their sentence in his own town of Bolton, where he had last appeared as a conqueror, and of subjecting him on his way thither, and indeed to the moment of his death, to brutal insult. A minute narrative of the circumstances of his final hours was penned, with touching simplicity, by a Mr. Bagaley, one of his gentlemen, who was allowed to attend him to the last, and the manuscript has been carefully preserved in the family. A transcript of the most part of it may be found in Collins's Peerage. It displays one of the purest examples extant of the courage of a soldier, the patience of a philosopher, and the piety of a Christian. He meant to have addressed himself at some length to the People, but was interrupted. In the part which he uttered are these

passages :—"As for my crime, as some are pleased to call it, to come into this country with the King, I hope it deserves a better name, for I did it in obedience to his call whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in Parliament in his father's time. I confess I love Monarchy, and I love my master, Charles, the second of that name, whom I myself proclaimed in this country to be King. The Lord bless and preserve him ; and I wish so much happiness to this people after my death that he may enjoy his right, and then they cannot want their rights. I profess here, in the presence of God, I always sought for peace, and I had no other reason, for I wanted neither means nor honours, nor did I seek to enlarge either. By the King's predecessors mine were raised to a high condition, it is well known to the country; and it is as well known that by his enemies I am condemned to suffer by new and unknown laws. The Lord send us our King again, and our old Laws again, and the Lord send us our Religion again. Truly to me it seems I die for God, the King, and the Laws ; and this makes me not to be ashamed of my life, nor afraid of my death." At these words one of the persons by whom he was guarded on the scaffold, misunderstanding him, ignorantly cried "We have no King, and we will have no Lords," and he was not permitted to say more ; Bagaley's narrative, however, gives the remainder of his intended speech, from the notes which the Earl at that moment handed to him. He was beheaded on Wednesday, the fifteenth of October, 1651 ; and England has not produced a parallel character since loyalty ceased to be an unmixed sentiment.

"The Earl of Derby," says Lord Clarendon, who, by the way, seems never to have felt cordially towards him, "was a man of unquestionable loyalty to the King, and gave clear testimony of it before he received any obligations from the Court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it. The King in his first year sent him the Order of the Garter, which, in many respects, he had expected from the last; and the sense of that honour made him

so readily comply with the King's command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots, who he thought had too much guilt upon them in having depressed the Crown to be made instruments in repairing and restoring it. He was a man of great honour, and clear courage, and all his defects and misfortunes arose from his having lived so little a time among his equals, that he knew not how to treat his inferiors, which was the source of all the ill that befel him; having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from persons of inferior quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death."

He married Charlotte, daughter to Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars, and Peer of France, by whom he had Charles, his successor, and two younger sons, Edward and William, who died infants; and four daughters; Charlotte, who died young; Henrietta Maria, who was married to William Wentworth, second Earl of Strafford; Catherine, to Henry Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester; and Amelia Sophia, to John Murray, Marquis of Athol. It remains only to be added to this sketch that the Earl had very considerable talents; was inclined to literary composition, and was among the best prose writers of his time. In the Desiderata Curiosa may be found "The History of the Isle of Man, by James, Earl of Derby, and Lord of Man, interspersed with large and excellent advices to his son;" and one of the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, is a sort of historical common-place book, written by his hand. It contains chiefly extracts from the popular libel called "Leicester's Common-wealth;" from the History of the Council of Trent; and from Fuller's Holy War. On the first page he has written "Ne turba operas meas"—J. Derby, 1645; and on the last, "Finis, Ja. 13, 1645, at Castle Rushin, in the Isle of Man—J. Derby."

Engraved by T. A. Dean.

LUCY PERCY, COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

OB. 1660.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T. HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, March 1. 1825.

LUCY PERCY,

COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

THIS Lady, equally remarkable for beauty, talents, and singularities, was the second and youngest daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, by Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his name. She was born in 1600, and had scarcely reached her fifth year when her father, whom undeserved ill-fortune seems to have prevented from shining among the first great characters of his time, was charged with being accessary, or at least privy, to the Gunpowder Plot; enormously fined; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for life, where indeed he remained for nineteen years. An illustrious family, thus deprived of its protector, perhaps wisely sought security in seclusion, and it was probably amidst the mountains and forests of her mighty ancestors that Lucy acquired the activity and independence, the masculine and haughty sentiments and prejudices, by which she was always distinguished. On the sixth of November, 1617, she was married to James, Lord Hay, afterwards created Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, a young Scotsman, whom King James, with the extravagancy which usually marked his partialities, had loaded with favours. The legends of Asiatic magnificence, and of Roman luxury, fall short of the accounts which have been transmitted to us of the habits of this nobleman's life. Having already imbibed much of the romantic in rural retirement, such a union presented to her a new series of illusions of a nature wholly opposite, and, together with the idolatry lavished on her beauty by a splendid Court, contributed to form a character at once admired, disliked, feared, little understood by any, and perhaps least of all by herself.

This marriage, which had been made by the King, and which he honoured by his presence, was highly offensive to her father, but in the end procured his liberation. Wilson, in his Life of James the first, tells us that " the younger daughter, Lucy, a lady of incomparable beauty, solemnized in the poems of the most exquisite wits of her time, married the Lord Hayes, now made Viscount Doncaster, against her father's will, (who aimed at higher extractions;) which the old Earl's stubborn spirit not brooking, would never give her any thing; and Doncaster, whose affection was above money, setting only a valuation upon his much admired bride, strove to make himself meritorious, and prevailed so with the King for his father-in-law that he got his release: but the old Earl would hardly be drawn to take a release from his hand; so that when he had his liberty he restrained himself, and with importunity was wrought upon, by such as knew the distempers of his body might best qualify those of his mind, to make a journey to the Bath, which was one special motive to accept of his son-in-law's respects." The Earl's enlargement, however, did not take place for four years after his daughter's marriage.

In the following reign she turned her attention to politics; despised the society of her own sex; studied systems of government, intrigued in matters of state, actually obtained considerable influence, and exercised it with adroitness and security. Lord Clarendon, to whose very gravity the interference of a woman, and such a woman, must have been sufficiently offensive, occasionally mentions her, and always unfavourably. Speaking of Lord Holland's transactions with the disaffected party, after his shameful abandonment of the King at York in the autumn of 1641, and of the mischievous intelligence with which they were treacherously supplied by that nobleman, he concludes,—" and he added to all this whatever information he had received by the Lady Carlisle of words or actions spoken or done by the Queen, which might increase their jealousy or malice to her Majesty."

On the discovery probably of this, or some such correspondence, she lost the Queen's favour; for he tells us elsewhere, in treating of the affairs of the Prince of Wales, after his flight to Holland, that "the Countess of Carlisle, who was now much trusted by the citizens, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen," had engaged herself in a negotiation between the Prince and the city, and had given his Royal Highness her advice as to his conduct towards the leading men there. Lord Clarendon however soon after acknowledges that she had "pawned her necklace of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she totally disbursed in supplying officers, and making other provisions for the expedition of the Earl of Holland;" but takes care to add, in the same sentence, that the Lord Percy, her brother, had been "a very importunate solicitor to the Prince for the repayment of that sum," and that "she had committed faults enough towards the King and Queen."

All this, it is true, might have been reasonably expected from any woman of a lively and busy cast of mind; but that she should have gained an influence over the wise, severe, and haughty Strafford, would, if supported but by mean evidence, be utterly incredible. Of this, which is more than once alluded to by historical writers, we have a full proof in a letter of the tenth of January, 1636, from her sister, Dorothy Percy, Countess of Leicester, to her Lord, which may be found in the Sidney Papers. "I shall be in much hope," writes the Countess, "that you will succeed the Deputy of Ireland," (Strafford) "whom they saie will only stay the accomplichément of what he has undertaken; but I fear that Lady Carlisle, who has more power with him than any creatur, will do nothing for our good." This fact might be corroborated too by several letters from Lady Carlisle herself, two of which, one to the Earl of Leicester, the other to his Countess, from the same collection, I will insert here; not however so much for that purpose, as to shew her vehement inclination to politics, and as specimens of her epistolary style and method. The names are written in cypher in the originals, and

afterwards decyphered, I suppose by Collins, the editor of the Papers, and it may be observed that she always mentions herself in the third person.

My Lord,

A Sunday last the King cald Hamilton, and Lord Deputy, and commanded them to be friends, saying thaye wayr persons that he meant to trust with most of his busnise, and therefore that thaye must agree. Hamilton mayd great professions that he had never spoken to the disadvantage of Lord Deputy, and calld the King to witnes it, which he did, though Lady Carlisle knowse he hase indeavourd all that's posible to keepe the Deputy from being Lo. Treasorer. The Queene has mutche lamented this losse of the Spaniards, which the French Ambassador takes very ill. Sir Henry Vane has behaved himself verie well in H. Percy's busnise, and hase spoken verie boldly to the King; but yet it cannot be overcome, for Hamilton dosse hugly opose it, and his power is sartanely verie great; but the Queene is confident it will be donne, which I fear. Three days agoe my brother Northumberland wase calld to the Junto, and yesterdaye my Lord Hamilton, and the Deputye. There is ane other littell Junto that is mutch apprehended hear, of which there is but three; the Bishop, and Hamilton, and Deputye. They have meet twise, and the world is full of guesses for the ocation of it. My Lord, it is a great pain to me that you have yet no more sartanty of my sister's health, and I fear your Lordship gives me your greatest hopes. My best consolation is that you saye she is cheerfull, for that is not her humor of great indispositione, without the being with your Lordship make that change. I beseetch you lett me again hear from your Lordship the nexst weeke, for tell I am free from thes feares I cane thinke of nothing ells, which I am confident will make you love me, and believe me more

Your's, &c.

17 Oct. 1639.

Dear Sister,

I am glad that you wish a friendshipe between my Lord of Leicester and Deputy, for I am confident it will be ane essy worke, and, if Lady Carlisle be not much deceaved, for the servis of Leicester, which above all things at the present I thinke of. Northumberland is better with the Deputy then he hase binne. Those two Lords have made a littell expostulatione, and Northumberland more satisfyd by mutche, and is now cald to all the greatest secrets of the King, which are nowe only in the trust of Canterbury, Deputy, and Hamilton. Conway will be General of the Horse, and Counseler, which is absolutely the Deputy's act. I desier you not to take notis of it to any body. The Deputy dosse absolutely govern Canterbury, and sartanly maye perswade him to anything; and Lady Carlisle is verie confident that she cane engage the Deputy as far as you please in any betwixt Canterbury and E. of Leicester. I was desiered by my Lord Deputy to send some of your servants to bye him 2 beds, one of crimsone velvet, and the other of watched damaske; the crimsone, with silke fringe, and the other with gold and silver; but I, that dayr saye anything to you, will let you knowe that by giving this command to one of your servants you will do him a huge favor. I did expect to have found the prise of my particler in the trunke, but not finding it, I beseetche you send it by the next, and let me know whether I shall paye the mony to Jone Illoyts, or send it to France. I have not binne well this weeke, and therfor excuse my strang writing. If you have found anything for a New year's Gift send me word by the next; and let my Lady Spencer knowe that my indispositione keept me from writing to her. My Lord of Holland asks your pardon for not writing, being at Theobalds with the King.

Your's &c.

19 of December, 1639.

We will take leave here of her political speculations, observing only, in addition, that they seem to have been built on no fixed

principles. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, accuses her, the friend, and alledged confident, of Strafford, of having given notice to Pym of the King's coming to the House of Commons to demand the five members, in order that they might have time to absent themselves. And St. Evremond, in the spirit of true French politeness, founding a compliment on her duplicity, tells us that—" from the inmost recesses of Whitehall, she had a great hand in animating the faction at Westminster." It is said that Monk obtained his first commission for military service in England through her recommendation, at the commencement of the civil war.

If her talents, whatever they might have been, attracted the notice and favour of one class of men, her beauty, not to mention her vanity, in which she seems to have been by no means deficient, commanded the positive worship of another. " Solemnized indeed she was," to use again the words of Arthur Wilson, " in the poems of the most exquisite wits of the time." At the head of these was Waller, the bard of the Sidneys, her relations, from the numerous eulogies dedicated to her by whose muse I will select the most agreeable.

The Country to my Lady of Carlisle.

Madam, of all the sacred Muse inspir'd,
Orpheus alone could with the Woods comply.
Their rude inhabitants his song admir'd,
And nature's self, in those that could not lye.
Your beauty next our solitude invades,
And warms us, shining through the thickest shades.

Nor ought the tribute which the wond'ring court
Pays your fair eyes prevail with you to scorn
The answer, and consent to that report
Which, echo like, the country does return.
Mirrors are taught to flatter, but our springs
Present th' impartial images of things.

A rural judge dispos'd of beauty's prize:
A simple shepherd was preferr'd to Jove:
Down to the Mountains, from the partial skies,
Came Juno, Pallas, and the Queen of love,
To plead for that which was so justly given
To the bright Carlisle of the Court of heav'n.

Carlisle! a name which all our woods are taught
Loud as their Amaryllis to resound.
Carlisle! a name which on the bark is wrought
Of every tree that's worthy of the wound.
From Phœbus' rage our shadows and our streams
May guard us better than from Carlisle's beams.

Voiture too, the Waller of France, in which country she resided during her husband's embassy thither, has addressed to her some highly complimentary verses. It is remarkable that her poets have confined themselves almost wholly to the celebration of her personal charms, seldom adverting to the powers of her mind, and never to her virtues; this however furnishes scarcely a negative evidence against her moral character. Such a person must have had abundance of enemies, and yet we meet with no direct censure on her conduct as a woman, except in the memoirs, already quoted, of Sir Philip Warwick, who, it must be confessed, expresses himself of her pretty freely. He calls her "that busy stateswoman, the Countess of Carlisle, who had now changed her gallant, from Strafford to Pym, and was become such a she-saint that she frequented their sermons, and took notes, &c." If Warwick intended to apply the word "gallant" in its most usual sense, we shall have less cause to wonder at the strictness of her intimacies, either with royalists or rebels.

Nor were her panegyrics confined to verse. Sir Toby Matthews, whose eccentricities have found their way into all the memoirs of the reigns of James and Charles the first, drew her character with an intenseness of labour, and an extravagancy and obscurity of thought and expression, which must discourage all hope, could any one be found with such a hope, to discover a parallel. This

singular production lay dormant till 1660, the last year of Lady Carlisle's life, when it appeared, occupying no less than ten octavo pages, in a volume of Letters of eminent persons, collected by Matthews, and edited by Dr. Donne, who prefixed to it a dedication to the Countess, in which he seems to have striven to tear the palm of absurdity from the brow of his author. "But, Madam," concludes Donne (having uttered everything that common sense, and moderate taste, would have rejected, on the subject of epistolary correspondence, particularly of the dead with the living, and, above all, of Sir Toby Matthews with his surviving friends in England, and all for the sake of introducing a poor final conceit) "that which would concern us more than all this is a hope that by a letter from him we should hear that your Ladyship were to favour us for many years to come with your presence here; whose absence would make such a chasm in our Galaxy, that it would grieve us less to see all our saints ascend into the heavens than that the earth should lose so much of her splendor, beauty, and goodness." Among the most intelligible passages of Matthews's long eulogium, the whole of which, as Lord Orford justly observes, might fairly pass as satire, are the following.—"She is of too high a mind and dignity not only to seek, but almost to wish, the friendship of any creature—Her nature values fortunate persons as virtuous—She has as much sense and gratitude for the actions of friendship as so extreme a beauty will give her leave to entertain—She more willingly allows of the conversation of men than of women; yet when she is amongst her own sex, her discourse is of fashions and dressings, which she hath ever so perfect upon herself as she likewise teaches it by seeing her—She hath too great a heart to have naturally any strong inclination to others—She affects particular so much that she dislikes general courtesies; and you may fear to be less valued by obliging her—She believeth nothing to be worthy her consideration but her own imaginations: those gallant fancies keep her in satisfaction when she is alone; when she will

find something worthy of her liking, since in the world she cannot find anything worthy of her loving—She hath a grace and facility, and I might well say a felicity, in her expressions, since they are certain and always in the fewest words—She is in disposition inclined to be choleric, which she suppresses, not perhaps in consideration of the persons who occasion it, but upon a belief that it is unhandsome towards herself—She affects extremes, because she cannot suffer any condition but of plenty and glory." The reader doubtless will be satisfied with the extent of these extracts.

The Countess of Carlisle died in November, 1660, having survived her husband, by whom she had no children, for twenty-four years. She was buried, near her father, at Petworth, in Sussex.

Engraved by T. A. Dean.

CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOUILLE, COUNTESS OF DERBY.

OB. 1663.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON.BLE THE EARL OF DERBY.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Sept.r 1, 1825.

CHARLOTTE DE LA TREMOÜILLE,

COUNTESS OF DERBY.

THE story of this illustrious lady, that is to say, almost the whole of it which remains unburied in oblivion, is confined to the journal of a siege. It exhibits however a character so abounding in sagacity, prudence, loyalty, grandeur of spirit, and active heroism, as to beguile us for a moment into a feeling of regret that the social policy of all climates and ages should have agreed to restrict the amiable sex to the power of pleasing, and to repress those energies which in spite of its regulations occasionally burst forth, and always with a degree of splendor which is rarely found to adorn even the finest of masculine sentiments or actions.

Charlotte de la Tremoüille was the third daughter of Claude, Duke of Thouars, Prince of Palmont, and a Peer of France, by Charlotte Brabantina, daughter of William the first Prince of Orange, and of his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, of the royal House of Montpensier. She was married when very young to the excellent and highly accomplished James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby, an outline of whose life and character has already appeared in this work. All the most propitious circumstances seemed to have combined to bless their union: the purest mutual affection; congenial talents and tempers; a numerous and beloved progeny; the most exalted birth, with immense revenues; and the whole crowned by a just reputation for the practice of all virtues. This marvellous picture of almost superhuman felicity was doomed to be torn in pieces, and scattered to the winds, by the accursed demon of faction and rebellion.

The Earl, her husband, was among the first of the nobility who hastened to surround King Charles the first after his declaration

of war in the year 1642. He presented himself to his Sovereign at Shrewsbury, at the head of three regiments of infantry, and as many troops of horse, raised, clothed, and armed, solely at his own charge. It was thought proper to retain this force with the main army, and to dispatch the Earl back into Lancashire, his own country, that he might exert his great influence there in encouraging the gentry to further levies; and, having so done, with very extensive effect, and performed some gallant actions with a small body of new recruits, intelligence was received that the rebels had formed a design to seize the Isle of Man, of which he was hereditary Lord. He was now suddenly ordered thither, and his Lady and family being then resident in his noble mansion of Lathom, a building which required little to render it in some degree defensible, he threw into it a few soldiers, together with such arms, ammunition, and sustenance, as the time would allow him to collect, and having committed it, together with his children, and the management of all his English concerns, to the charge of the Countess, hastily departed.

He had scarcely reached the Isle when the Countess received certain intelligence that her house would shortly be attacked. She lost no time therefore in strengthening her little garrison, by increasing her provisions and military stores, and admitting singly, or in small parties, such neighbours of the middling and lower classes as might be depended on. Mingling these with the servants of the family, she formed the whole into six regiments, at the head of which she placed as many gentlemen of the county, and gave the command in chief to a Captain Farmer, a Scot, who had served with reputation in the Low Country wars, and was afterwards slain at Marston Moor, and these arrangements had been made with such caution and secresy that the rebels had no expectation of resistance till they had arrived within two miles of the house. On the twenty-eighth of February, 1644, they arrived, led by Fairfax himself, who sent a trumpet to require a conference with the Countess, to which she agreed, and

detained the messenger, says my authority, while, "to make the best show she could, she placed her inefficient and unarmed men on the walls, and tops of the towers, and marshalled all her soldiers in good order, with their respective officers, from the main guard in the first court to the great hall," in which she calmly awaited his visit. Their meeting was ceremonious and courteous. Fairfax informed her that he was commissioned to offer her an honourable and secure removal, with her children, retinue, and property, arms and ammunition excepted, to Knowsley Hall, another of the family seats; an engagement that she should reside there without molestation; and the moiety of the Earl's estate for her support. She answered that "she was under a double trust—of faith to her husband, and allegiance to her Sovereign, and desired to have a month to consider her answer; and, this being denied, rejoined that "she hoped then he would excuse her if she preserved her honour and obedience, though perhaps to her own ruin."

Fairfax departed, and was for some days doubtful whether to attack Lathom by storm or by siege, when he was determined by the artifice of one of the Earl's chaplains, a Mr. Rutter, who, happening to have some conversation with a rebel officer, his acquaintance, insinuated to him that the military force of the garrison was abundant, but that it had not fourteen days provision. This false intelligence was presently conveyed to Fairfax, who in consequence resolved against a summary assault, and, at the end of a fortnight accordingly, sent in military form to demand an immediate surrender. The Countess replied that "she had not yet forgotten what she owed to the Church of England, to her Prince, and to her Lord; and that till she had lost her honour or her life she would defend that place." The rebels presently began to form their trenches, when, on the twenty-fourth of March, she ordered a sally of two hundred men, who attacked them; slew about sixty, and took some prisoners; with the loss on her side only of two. The enemy now doubled their

guard, and began to draw their lines at a greater distance, but were so interrupted by sallies that fourteen weeks had passed before they could complete them. This however done, they gradually approached the moat by which the house was surrounded, and at length mounted a strong battery, and particularly a mortar of large calibre, a shell thrown from which fell into an apartment in which the Countess and her children were at dinner. They escaped unhurt, and the heroine instantly ordered another sally, in which they were again worsted, and all their guns spiked, or thrown into the moat, except that mortar, which was triumphantly dragged into the house. This remarkable exploit was performed on the twenty-sixth of April, the very day fixed on by the rebels for a general assault, in which it had been determined to give no quarter. They were employed for several days in repairing their works, during which they were incessantly annoyed by the besieged, and had no sooner accomplished it, when the garrison once more dispersed them; again spiked their cannon; and killed one hundred of their soldiers, losing only three men, and five or six wounded. In most of all these affairs the Countess was personally present, and frequently in great danger. Her conduct united the most exemplary piety with the most determined courage. Every action was prefaced by devout prayer; every success acknowledged by humble thanksgiving.

More than three months had now passed since the commencement of the siege, in which the rebels confessed themselves to have lost two thousand men, when Fairfax, chagrined by its ill success, removed the officer who had hitherto commanded before Lathom, and appointed a Colonel Rigby, whose principal recommendation was a private enmity to the Earl of Derby. He had no sooner arrived than he manifested this disposition by a new summons to surrender, conveyed in affronting terms, to which the Countess herself replied—"Trumpet, tell that insolent rebel, Rigby, that if he presume to send another summons within this place, I will have the messenger hanged up at the gates."

The garrison however was now reduced to the greatest distress. Their ammunition and their corn were spent, and they had killed for food nearly all their horses. The Earl now hastened from Man, to solicit relief for them, which Prince Rupert, who was then marching his army to York, was directed to give, and Rigby, on receiving intelligence of this expected succour, raised the siege on the twenty-seventh of May, 1644.

The Countess now accompanied her Lord in his return to the Isle of Man. On the fatal decline of the royal cause, his great estates were confiscated. He continued however to hold that island for the King with a firmness which the rebel Parliament, to its eternal disgrace, avenged by detaining his children, who came to England to solicit relief from it, on the faith of a pass from Fairfax, for eighteen months in the harshest captivity. The incomparable pair remained on the Island, protected and supported by its simple people, who adored them, till the fruitless enterprize of Charles the second in 1651, when the Earl flew to his aid, and perished in his cause. On the twelfth of October in that year, two days before he was beheaded by the rebels, he wrote the following exquisite letter to his Countess, inestimable in this place, inasmuch as it lays before us the most important features of her character, drawn by the dying hand of him who knew her best.

" My dear Heart,

" I have heretofore sent you comfortable lines, but alas I have now no word of comfort, saving to our last and best refuge, which is Almighty God, to whose will we must submit; and when we consider how he hath disposed of these nations and the government thereof, we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths, judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries, and to call on him with tears for mercy.

" The governor of this place, Colonel Duckenfield, is general of

the forces which are now going against the Isle of Man; and, however you might do for the present, in time it would be a grievous and troublesome thing to resist, especially those that at this hour command the three nations; wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place, is that you would make conditions for yourself, and children, and servants, and people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may get to some place of rest, where you may not be concerned in war, and, taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them: then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinion.

"I conjure you, my dearest Heart, by all those graces that God hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial. If harm come to you, then I am dead indeed; and until then I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself. When there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children; then take comfort, and God will bless you. I acknowledge the great goodness of God to have given me such a wife as you—so great an honour to my family—so excellent a companion to me—so pious—so much of all that can be said of good I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof. I ask God pardon with all my soul that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit; and where I have done any thing at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask your pardon. I have no more to say to you at this time than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy—Amen, sweet Jesus!"

The unhappy Countess remained in Man, her little kingdom in her better days, ruling it in indigence; her health broken down by grief, but her spirit still unsubdued. At length a wretch of the name of Christian, whom the Earl had cherished from his childhood, and to whom at his final departure he had committed the care of his lady and their offspring, as well as the command

of the Infantry of the Island, betrayed it to the enemy. The Countess and her children were for a time rigorously imprisoned, but at length suffered to wander in obscurity, actually subsisting on the alms of their impoverished friends. Thus they languished till the Restoration, when the family estates returned of course into the possession of their eldest son. She passed the short remainder of her days at his seat at Knowsley Hall, in Lancashire, and dying there on the twenty-first of March, 1663, was buried at Ormskirk, in that county.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

SIR KENELM DIGBY.

OB. 1665.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Feb. 1. 1825.

SIR KENELM DIGBY.

It is a perilous task to attempt to pourtray the character of a universal genius. Sir Kenelm Digby was a scholar, a soldier, a courtier, a divine, a philosopher, an orator, and a politician, and not only his own country, but all Europe, held him in the highest estimation in each of those characters. Exquisite parts, with a most happy temper, produced in him their usual result, a perfect politeness. His very vanity, and he abounded in it, was so well governed, that it gave to all he said, or wrote, or did, a peculiar zest, if I may so express myself, which all relished, while no one could perceive from whence it came. The depth and the quickness of his understanding might have qualified him for the management of the most important affairs, and he was ambitious of public employment, but a certain eccentricity and unsteadiness, perhaps inseparable from a mind of such variety, probably impeded his advancement. Those dispositions in him became too the more exposed to censure because he lived in a time when something like Roman virtue still appeared in the public conduct of men, and a firmness of principle was displayed by two great opposing parties, which, while it shed an additional lustre on loyalty, lent an ornament even to rebellion. With respect to his philosophy, it would be difficult to say whether his succeeding so immediately as he did to the illustrious Bacon might be deemed more fortunate or disadvantageous to him; since, in profiting largely by the discoveries of that sage, he lost, through the carelessness of some, and the malignity of others, the credit of originality. The truth however is, that Digby not only gave form and birth to many of Bacon's mighty conceptions, but that those who may have courage enough to turn for a while from

more fashionable systems, will find in his works many inventions which had escaped the observation of his profound predecessor.

The public circumstances of his time perhaps contributed equally with the singularities of his nature to render his life as various as his character. It may be said that their operation commenced when he had scarcely left his cradle, for he was the son and heir of that accomplished gentleman and frantic bigot, Sir Everard Digby, who suffered death in 1606 for his concern in the gunpowder treason. His mother was the daughter, and sole heir, of William Mulsho, of Gothurst, in Buckinghamshire, and her ample fortune, as well as the paternal estates, had fortunately been so firmly settled on the issue of her marriage, that the Court of Wards found itself obliged to adjudge them to the heir male, in spite of a claim made by the Crown under the attainder of the father. Kenelm, concerning the precise date of whose birth there has been some contest, appears to have been born on the eleventh of June, 1603. His mother, who was a zealous Roman Catholic, submitted for obvious reasons, to his being bred at least under Protestant forms, and it is said, that the early part of his education was superintended by the celebrated Laud, at that time Dean of Gloucester. In 1618 he was sent to Oxford, and entered of Gloucester Hall, where the direction of his studies was committed to the care of Mr. Thomas Allen, a man of the highest reputation for ability and erudition, who accepted that charge, not in the ordinary character of a college tutor, but from affection to the family of his pupil, and for the gratification of cultivating a genius which had already shewn abundant signs of pre-eminence. He remained little more than two years at the University, which having quitted with the most brilliant reputation, he set out on the tour of France, Spain, and Italy, from whence he returned in 1623, and on the 23d of October in that year received from King James, at the house of Lord Montague, at Hinchinbroke, the honour of knighthood, so seldom bestowed on one of his years.

SIR KENELM DIGBY.

On the accession of Charles the First, which occurred soon after, Sir Kenelm Digby became one of the chief ornaments of Whitehall. Charles, who did not love gaiety, highly esteemed him however for his admirable talents; but to the Queen, who, before her misfortunes, had a very lively disposition, he rendered himself infinitely agreeable, and she seems to have conceived a friendship for him which lasted through life. He was a party in all the royal diversions, which indeed he frequently planned and directed, and such were the volatility of his spirits, and the careless elegance of his manners, that it should have seemed that he had been bred from his infancy in a court. He obtained the office of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and was soon after, an odd mixture of employments, appointed a Commissioner of the Navy. In 1628 he was suddenly called from the study and the drawing room to assume the character of a naval commander, and was sent, at the head of a squadron, to chastise the Venetians and Algerines, who had of late infested the English trade in the Mediterranean by their piracies. In this expedition he was completely successful, for, having taken many of the Moorish armed vessels, and liberated the English slaves who were in them, he attacked the Venetian gallies, and totally routed them. These actions, by which he acquired considerable fame of a new character, were fought near Scanderoon, on the 16th of June.

On his return he relapsed into the student; purchased the valuable collection of manuscripts and printed books of his early friend Mr. Allen, of Gloucester Hall, the use of which he allowed to that gentleman while he lived; and soon after his decease, in 1632, nobly gave them to the Bodleian Library. He now applied himself with much earnestness to the study of religious controversy, with the view, as he confesses, to strengthen an inclination which he had formed to abandon the protestant persuasion. He wavered however for four years, but in 1636 finally reconciled himself to the Church of Rome, in spite of the arguments of Archbishop Laud, his correspondence with whom on that subject,

full of a charity and moderation which did honour to the hearts of both parties, is still extant. He was at that time in France, where he long remained, employing himself in composing elaborate arguments in defence of his lately adopted faith, which he afterwards put forth, in two publications, under the titles of, "A Conference with a Lady about Choice of Religion," and "Letters between Lord George Digby, and Sir Kenelm Digby, Knt. concerning Religion;" the one in 1638, the other not till 1651. There was an air of candour in thus publishing both sides of a controversy, which, whether it arose from the humility of doubt, or the arrogance of superiority, certainly gained him much credit. The Roman Catholics triumphed, as well they might, on the accession of such a person to their communion; and the Queen, their great patroness, received him on his return to England, with much grace and confidence, and immediately employed him in the management of an affair, his conduct in which, while it increased her esteem for him, rendered him obnoxious to the party which was then aspiring to that ascendancy in Parliament which, unhappily for the country, it soon after gained. The King, with a very scanty purse, was preparing for a war with the Scots, and had called on his subjects for such aid as they might be willing to lend him. The wealthiest of the protestant clergy and laity had contributed liberally, and the Queen, anxious that those of her religion should imitate the example, engaged Sir Kenelm, and Mr. Walter Montague, to compose a kind of circular letter to excite them, which was dispersed throughout the kingdom, and procured considerable sums. The House of Commons resented this proceeding, and in January, 1640, Sir Kenelm was called to the bar, and questioned on it. He is said to have answered with simplicity and candour, and the Queen herself having sent an explanatory message to the House, it seemed, for the time, to be satisfied: but the offence was not forgotten, for in the address which was sometime after presented, requiring the King to remove the Roman Catholics

from his presence and his Court, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Walter Montague, were particularly named.

His conduct, indeed, in that affair had subjected him to a lasting suspicion. On the breaking out of the grand rebellion, which soon followed, he was imprisoned, by order of the Parliament, in Winchester House, from whence he was released, in the Autumn of 1643, at the instance of the Queen Dowager of France, on condition that he should transport himself forthwith to France. On this occasion he subscribed a declaration, more prudent than honest, in which he promised, "on the faith of a christian, and the word of a gentleman," neither directly nor indirectly, to negociate, promote, consent unto, or conceal, any practice or design prejudicial to the honour or safety of the Parliament. Before his departure, however, he was strictly examined before a committee, as to an alledged correspondence between Archbishop Laud and the Court of Rome, and particularly on the question whether a Cardinal's hat had been offered by the Pope to that Prelate, which, with many other rumours equally absurd and incredible, had been invented in the House to inflame the minds of the people. His pen had not been unemployed during his confinement: We have two pieces written by him in Winchester House; the one intituled "Observations on *Religio Medici*, occasionally written by Sir K. D. Knt." This small piece, printed in 1643, and addressed to his great friend, Edward Earl of Dorset, is said to have been written in one night, an assertion which seems to be contradicted by the word "occasionally" in the title. The other, though hastily composed, is a little work of deep reflection; "Observations on the twenty-second stanza, in the ninth canto of the second book of Spenser's Fairy Queen," in a letter to Sir Edward Stradling, published in 1644.

He was received in France even with rapture. The extent of his natural talents and his learning, and the gay variety of his conversation, captivated a people equally ingenious and volatile.

He passed a considerable part of his time in the Court, where he was a great favourite with the Queen Dowager, as well as in the most refined private societies of Paris; and then, as seems to have been his custom, suddenly withdrew himself wholly to his studies. He now digested and reduced to order the particulars of a philosophical system on which he had long speculated, and which he published at Paris in 1644, in two parts, under the titles of "a Treatise of the Nature of Bodies," and "a Treatise declaring the Operations and Nature of Man's Soul, out of which the Immortality of reasonable Souls is evinced." This, which may be esteemed, in every point of consideration, as his greatest work, exalted his reputation to the utmost, and the feeble attacks made on it by Alexander Ross, and by some writers on the continent, served but to increase the number of its students, both at home and abroad. He wrote also, soon after, in Latin, "Five Books of Peripatetic Institutions, with a Theological Appendix concerning the Origin of the World," which were not printed till 1651.

The final subversion of Monarchy in England called him home. He had lost his eldest son in the faint struggle made by the Earl of Holland on the part of the King, and had otherwise partaken largely in the misfortunes of that sad period. He was scarcely allowed time to manage a composition for his estate, which, however, as we shall see presently, was not the sole object of his journey, when the Parliament ordered him to withdraw, and forbade him to return, without leave of the House, under pain of death. He fled once more into France, where he joined the little Court of Henrietta Maria, who had lately appointed him her Chancellor, and by whom, not long after his arrival, he was sent as her Envoy to Pope Innocent the Tenth. He is said to have disgusted the pontiff by the unreasonable haughtiness and freedom of his behaviour, a charge ill suited to the general character of his temper and breeding. "At first," says Aubrey, in some curious notices of Sir Kenelm, from which I shall have occasion

to make larger extracts, "he was mightily admired; but after some time he grew high, and hectored at his Holiness, and gave him the lie. The Pope said he was mad." Wood, who gives nearly the same account, adds, what may be feared was the true occasion of his quarrel with the Pope, that, "having made a collection of money for the afflicted Catholics in England, he was found to be no faithful steward in that matter."

Cromwell, having crushed the Long Parliament, and assumed the sovereign power, Sir Kenelm returned to England, and to the great surprise and regret of all parties, seemed presently to acquire some degree of intimacy, and even favour, with the usurper. Time has unveiled the mystery of this seemingly unnatural connection. The publication of the Duke of Ormond's papers has proved that, even from the hour of the death of Charles, Digby had meditated the restoration of his own religion in England, by joining the Roman Catholics and the King's murderers in one common cause. Lord Byron, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, of the first of March, 1649, from Caen, in Normandy, says, "Sir Kenelm Digby, with some other Romanists, accompanied with one Watson, an Independent, who hath brought them passes from Fairfax, is gone for England, to join the interests of all the English Papists with that bloody party that murdered the King, in the opposition and extirpation of monarchial government; or if that government be thought fit, yet that it shall be by election, and not by succession, as formerly provided: that a free exercise of the Romish religion be granted, and of all other religions whatsoever, excepting that which was established by law in the Church of England," &c. And a letter in the same collection from a Dr. Winstead, a physician at Rouen, to Secretary Nicholas, of a date somewhat earlier, after reciting a long conversation between himself and Sir Kenelm, when the latter was about to embark, concludes—"The plot, as I am told, about which Sir Kenelm Digby is employed as agent to treat with those horrid rebels, the Independents of England, is

for the subversion of successive hereditary monarchy there, and to make it elective, and to establish Popery there, and to give toleration to all manner of religions there, except that of the Church of England according to the practice thereof." Here then we find the cause of the severity of the Long Parliament towards Digby, when he visited England for the alledged purpose of compounding for his estates, as well as the motive to the grace with which he was now received by Cromwell, to whom doubtless he came to reiterate the same proposals, perhaps somewhat modified with regard to hereditary succession. That Cromwell should have sought to fortify his dominion by gaining over the English Catholics, adds nothing to the weight of crime and infamy which loads his memory; but for the treachery thus imputed to Digby, the most fervid affection to his religious faith which we could ascribe to him would furnish no extenuation; and, however painful it may be to believe the story, it is scarcely possible to doubt the truth of it.

Having remained in England for a considerable time, he went again to the continent in 1656, and travelled through France and Germany, fixing his residence occasionally for long intervals in different cities, and collecting and bestowing treasure in every branch of science. Amidst these refined pursuits, however, he found time to correspond with Secretary Thurloe, with professions, on his part, of the firmest attachment to the person and government of Cromwell; after whose death, and during the rapid dissolution of the system which he had framed, Digby returned to Paris to await the event. Immediately after the restoration, he came to London, and, though the King and his ministers were well apprised of the intrigues which have lately been mentioned, was received at Court, at least, with great complaisance. It would have been surprizing indeed had he been treated with confidence.

In composing this memoir, I have purposely omitted many small circumstances of Sir Kenelm's story, for the sake of giving

them in the dress in which they appear in a late very choice publication of papers in the Bodleian and Ashmolean libraries, which closes with a collection of biographical memorandums, loosely strung together under the several heads to which they belong, by the pen of the singular John Aubrey. Those who read biography with a true taste and feeling, well know how much the life and freshness of such unstudied notices fade in being reduced even to the best form of regular narrative.

"Sir Kenelm Digby," says Aubrey, "was a great traveller, and understood ten or twelve languages. He was not only master of a good and graceful judicious style, but he also wrote a delicate hand, both fast hand, and Roman."

"He was such a goodly handsome person, and had so graceful elocution, and noble address, that had he been dropt out of the clouds in any part of the world he would have made himself respected; but the Jesuits spake spitefully, and said 'twas true, but then he must not stay there above six weeks. He was well versed in all kinds of learning: and he had also this virtue; that no man knew better how to abound, and to be abased, and either was indifferent to him: No man became grandeur better; sometimes again he would live only with a lackey, and horse with a footcloth. He was very generous and liberal to deserving persons."

"Much against his mother's, &c. consent, he married that celebrated beauty, and courtesan, Mrs. Venetia Stanley, whom Richard, Earl of Dorset kept as his concubine, had children by her, and settled on her an annuity of five hundred pounds per annum, which, after Sir K. D. married, was unpaid by the Earl. Sir Kenelm sued the Earl, after marriage, and recovered it. He would say that a handsome lusty man, that was discreet, might make a virtuous wife out of a brothel house. This lady carried herself blamelessly, yet they say he was jealous of her. She died in her bed suddenly; some suspected that she was poisoned.

When her head was opened there was found but little brain, which her husband imputed to her drinking of viper wine; but spiteful women would say that it was a viper husband, who was jealous of her. Once a year the Earl of Dorset invited her and Sir Kenelm to dinner, where the Earl would behold her with much passion, and only kiss her hand. After her death, to avoid envy and scandal, he retired into Gresham College, at London, where he diverted himself with his chemistry, and the professor's good conversation. He wore there a long mourning cloak; a high cornered hat; his beard unshorn; looked like an hermit; as signs of sorrow for his beloved wife, to whose memory he erected a sumptuous monument, now quite destroyed by the great conflagration. He was a person of extraordinary strength. I remember one at Sherbourne, relating to the Earl of Bristol, protested to us that as he, being a middling man, being set in a chair, Sir Kenelme took him up, chair and all, with one arm. He was of an undaunted courage, yet not apt in the least to give offence. His conversation was both ingenious and innocent."

"There is in print, in French, and also in English, translated by Mr. James Howell, a speech that he made at a philosophical assembly at Montpellier, 165.. of the sympathetique powder. He made a speech at the beginning of the meeting of the Royal Society, of the vegetation of plants. He was born to three thousand pounds per annum. His ancient seat, I think, is Gotehurst, in Buckinghamshire. He had a fair estate also in Rutlandshire. What by reason of the civil wars, and his generous mind, he contracted great debts; and, I know not how, there being a great falling out between him and his then only son, John, he settled his estate upon Cornwalleys, a subtle solicitor, and also a member of the House of Commons, who did put Mr. John Digby to much charge in law. Sir John Hoskyns informs me that Sir Kenelm Digby did translate Petronius Arbiter into English," &c. &c.

SIR KENELM DIGBY.

Sir Kenelm Digby survived the restoration about five years, which he passed rather in the enjoyment than in the active prosecution of science. He lived entirely in London, and established in his house, in Covent Garden, those literary assemblies to which he had been accustomed in France, and which he seems first to have introduced in this country. He had been for several years afflicted by the stone, and in the autumn and winter of 1664 his attacks of that cruel disease so frequently recurred as to reduce him to a state of extreme weakness. He was preparing however for one more visit to Paris, when a most violent paroxysm carried him off on his birthday, the eleventh of June, in the following year. He was buried in Christ-Church within Newgate, where, several years before his death, he had erected a superb monument in memory of his wife. By the unbridled frailties of that lady, the Earl of Dorset having been but one of many favoured lovers, much of the noblest blood of England was dishonoured, for she was the daughter of Sir Edward Stanley, Knight of the Bath, grandson of the great Edward, Earl of Derby, by Lucy, daughter and coheir of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Sir Kenelm left by her an only child, John Digby, who certainly inherited, though under many disadvantages and vexations, the most part of his father's estates. In him the male line of his branch of the Digbies became extinct, for he had by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Longueville, of Wolverton, in Bucks, two daughters only; Margaret Maria, married to Sir John Conway, of Bodey, in Flintshire, and Charlotte Theophila, to Richard Mostyn, of Penbeddw, in the same county.

In addition to the works which have already been mentioned, several small tracts have been published under the name of Sir Kenelm Digby.—A discourse delivered before the Royal Society on the Vegetation of Plants.—Choice Receipts in Physic and Chirurgery.—Cordial and distilled Water and Spirits, Perfumes, and other Curiosities.—His Closet opened, wherein is discovered

several ways of making Wines.—Excellent Directions for Cookery.—Choice Collection of rare chemical Secrets," &c. But there is reason to suspect that all these, except the first, were the gleanings of his laboratory, put together, and published after his death, by the servant who assisted him in his philosophical experiments.

Engraved by T. A. Dean.

ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF DORSET, PEMBROKE, AND MONTGOMERY.

OB. 1675.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DORSET.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, March 1 1826.

ANNE CLIFFORD,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

In an age the fashion of which was to confine the minds of women of high birth to the study of school divinity and morality, of the most simple domestic duties, and of a few wretched social forms, which supplied the place of politeness without bearing any resemblance to it; to the gloomy habits of implicit obedience to one, and of absolute rule over many; and to an intercourse only with those of their own rank, in whom, if they were at all disposed to observation, they could but retrace their own imperfect qualifications; we are agreeably surprized at meeting occasionally with one of those rare spirits in which a vigour of natural character opposed itself to the taste, if I may so call it, of a nation, and struggled, with whatever success, to loosen the shackles which had been imposed on it by a declining barbarism: such a one had Anne, Countess of Pembroke.

She was the only surviving child, and at length sole heir, of the gallant and eccentric George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, of whom some account will be found elsewhere in this work, by Margaret, third daughter of Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford, and was born at her father's seat of Skipton-Castle, in Yorkshire, on the thirtieth of January, 1589. Unhappy dissentions subsisted between her parents, and they were separated in her childhood; but it was her good fortune to be left to the care of her mother, a woman of equal prudence and probity, by whom the charge of the more important part of her education was entrusted to Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days. From him she acquired a taste for history and poetry, and a fondness for literary composition, which she indulged to a

great extent, without publishing, or intending to publish, the fruits of her application. She fell therefore into the common faults with those who write for their own closets, and we find her pen generally careless, often trifling and tedious, and always egotistical; yet in this unpromising mixture we meet frequently with proofs of original genius, and solid intellect, and with scattered examples of the purest and most graceful style of her time. Her chief work is a summary of the circumstances of her own life, which I mention thus early because from that source the materials for the present Memoir will be mostly drawn.

Her picture of her person and mind in her youth is too curious to be omitted, especially as, while it imparts to us her opinion of herself, it betrays features of character of which it is almost certain that she was wholly unconscious. "I was," says she, "very happy in my first constitution, both in mind and body; both for internal and external endowments; for never was there a child more equally resembling both father and mother than myself. The colour of mine eyes was black, like my father's, and the form and aspect of them was quick and lively, like my mother's. The hair of my head was brown, and very thick, and so long that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright; with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple on my chin: Like my father, full cheeks; and round face, like my mother; and an exquisite shape of body, resembling my father. But now time and age have long since ended all those beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the field: (Isaiah, xl. 67, 68; 1 Peter, i. 24:) For now, when I caused these memorables of myself to be written, I have passed the sixty-third year of my age. And, though I say it, the perfections of my mind were much above those of my body: I had a strong and copious memory; a sound judgement, and a discerning spirit; and so much of a strong imagination in me, as at many times even my dreams and apprehensions proved to be true," &c. &.

She was married to young Richard, third Earl of Dorset of the

Sackvilles, a man of lively parts, and licentious life, and probably a polite and negligent husband; and afterwards, when she had passed the age of forty, to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, a person distinguished only by the brutality of his manners, and the most ungrateful disloyalty. She had abundant cause of private offence from each. The first was a spendthrift, and quarrelled with her because she prevented him from dissipating her estate; the second was a tyrant, and distracted her by the savageness of his humour. Yet she speaks well, and even kindly, of both. The one she tells us was in his nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant: that he excelled in every sort of learning all the young nobility with whom he studied at Oxford; and that he was a true patriot, and an eminent patron of scholars and soldiers. Of the other she says, that he had a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, and a discerning spirit, with a very cholerick nature; and that he was in all respects one of the most distinguished noblemen in England, and well beloved throughout the realm; all which, except the slight censure of his temper, is expressly contradicted by the best historical evidence. How happened it then, high spirited and clear sighted as she was, that she should thus have sacrificed not only the truth, but her own feelings of resentment, by these unmerited compliments? Probably because she disdained to own, even to herself, an erroneous judgment in the choice of her consorts, and because the burthen of their ill usage had been lightened by the consolation she found in self-preference.

I will insert one more extract from her Memoirs, in her own words; not only as it exhibits a further proof of this singular complaisance, but for the view which it affords us of her character, or rather of her own conception of it, in middle age.

"I must confess," says she, "with inexpressible thankfulness, that, through the goodness of Almighty God, and the mercies of my Saviour Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the world, I was born a

MAHARAJA-SERF

happy creature in mind, body, and fortune; and that those two Lords of mine, to whom I was afterwards by divine Providence married, were in their several kinds worthy noblemen as any there were in this kingdom; yet it was my misfortune to have contradictions and crosses with them both. With my first Lord, about the desire he had to make me sell my rights in the lands of my ancient inheritance for a sum of money, which I never did, nor never would consent unto, insomuch as this matter was the cause of a long contention betwixt us; as also for his profusion in consuming his estate, and some other extravagances of his: and with my second Lord, because my youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella Sackville, would not be brought to marry one of his younger sons, and that I would not relinquish my interest I had in five thousand pounds, being part of her portion, out of my lands in Craven. Nor did there want malicious ill willers, to blow and foment the coals of dissention between us; so as in both their life times, the marble pillars of Knowle, in Kent, and Wilton, in Wiltshire, were to me oftentimes but the gay arbours of anguish; insomuch as a wise man, that knew the insides of my fortune, would often say that I lived in both these my Lords' great families as the river Roan, or Rhodanus, runs through the lake of Geneva without mingling any part of it's streams with that lake; for I gave myself wholly to retiredness as much as I could in both these great families, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my companions, which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted when it unjustly happens; and by a happy genius I overcame all those troubles, the prayers of my blessed mother helping me therein."

We have indeed abundant proof of the misery in which she must have lived with Lord Pembroke from the following letter, written by her to her uncle, Edward, Earl of Bedford, which remains in the Harleian Collection.

"My Lorde,

"Yesterdaye by Mr. Marshe I receved your Lordship's letter, by which I perceved how much you were trubled att the reporte of my beeing sicke, for which I humblé thanke your Lordshipe. I was so ill as I did make full accountt to die; but now, I thanke God, I am somthinge better. And now, my Lorde, give me leve to desire thatt favouer from your Lordship as to speke ernestly to my Lorde for my coming up to the towne this terme, ether to Bainarde's Castell, or the Cok-pitt; and I protest I will be reday to returne backe hether agane whensoever my Lorde appoynttes itt. I have to this purpos written now to my Lorde, and putt it inclosed in a letter of mine to my Ladey of Carnarvan, as desiring her to deliver itt to her father, whiche I know shee will do with all the advantage shee can, to farder this busines; and iff your Lordship will joyne withe her in itt, you shall afforde a charittable and a most acceptable favouer to your Lordship's cossen, and humble frind to command,

Ramossbury, this 14 of January, 1638. Anne Pembrooke."

"If my Lorde sholld deny my comming, then I desire your Lordship I may understand itt as sone as may bee, thatt so I may order my poore businesses as well as I cane witheoutt my one comminge to the towne; for I dare not ventter to come upe witheoutt his leve, lest he sholld take that occassion to turne mee outt of this howse, as hee did outt of Whitthall, and then I shall not know wher to put my hede. I desire nott to staye in the towne above 10 dayes, or a fortnight att the most."

This worthless Peer, from whom she had been obliged at length to separate herself, died in 1649; and now, finding herself emancipated from the thraldom under which she had so long laboured, her great spirit bounded, as it were, at once to the proper height which nature had allotted to it. She retired to her own superb estates in the north; not to seclude herself from society, but to chear and enliven it by a princely hospitality; not to cultivate in

mortification the devotions of the closet, but to invigorate the piety, and improve the morals, of a very large community, as well by her instruction as her example; not to increase her revenues by contracting her expenses, but to give loose to a profusion at once magnificent and œconomical, and to adorn a region with splendid monuments to the fame of her illustrious progenitors, and to the zeal with which she had devoted herself to the celebration of their memory. She was at that time more than sixty years old, but she entered on her task with the ardour and alacrity of youth. Skipton Castle, the chief seat of her family, and its parish Church, had been demolished by a siege during the grand rebellion, and five other castles and mansions of her ancestors were in ruins. All these she gradually restored to their pristine grandeur and convenience. She rebuilt the Church at Bongate, near Appleby, and the neighbouring Chapels of Brougham, Ninekirke, and Mallerstang, and a great part of the Church of Appleby, where also she built, and liberally endowed, a fine hospital for thirteen respectable widows. She testified her filial piety by placing in that town a statue of her beloved mother, and by covering, at Skipton, the ashes of her father with a superb tomb; and her affection to departed genius by erecting a monument for Spenser, in Westminster-abbey, and another for her tutor, Daniel, at Beckingham, in Somersetshire. She reared also in Westmoreland a stately Obelisk, the remains of which, on the Roman road called the Maiden Way, are still identified by the name of "Countess Pillar," to mark the spot where for the last time she parted with her mother.

"But it is still more to her honour," feelingly and eloquently says Dr. Whitaker, in his History of Craven, "that she patronised the poets of her youth, and the distressed loyalists of her maturer age; that she enabled her aged servants to end their lives in ease and independence; and, above all, that she educated and portioned the illegitimate children of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset. Removing from Castle to Castle, she diffused plenty

and happiness around her, by consuming on the spot the produce of her vast domains in hospitality and charity. Equally remote from the undistinguishing profusion of ancient times, and the parsimonious elegance of modern habits, her house was a school for the young, and a retreat for the aged; an asylum for the persecuted, a college for the learned, and a pattern for all."

Spite of these admirable attributes, and of all the monuments which she herself had raised, the fame of this Lady was sinking fast into oblivion, when it was suddenly revived by the publication, in 1753, in a periodical paper called "the World," of the following letter, alledged to have been written by her to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles the Second, who had presumed to recommend to her a candidate for her borough of Appleby.

"I have been bullied by an Usurper; I have been neglected by a Court; but I will not be dictated to by a Subject. Your man sha'nt stand.

Anne Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery."

This letter, not to speak of its value as relating to the Countess's story, was peculiarly recommended to notice by some local circumstances. It appeared in a publication avowedly written by one justly and equally celebrated for the politeness of his literary taste, and for his extensive acquaintance with the later antiquities of his country. It flattered the political prejudices of the hour, and furnished a new theme to the Whigs, drawn from a period comparatively slavish, yet ascribed to one of the highest of the aristocracy. It was viewed as an inestimable curiosity in every point of consideration, and a thousand times quoted or repeated. It found its way even into the "Philosophy of Rhetoric" of Dr. Campbell, who uses it to illustrate a position. After all, I incline strongly to doubt, nay to deny, the genuineness of the document itself. Fond as the Countess was of recording even the most insignificant affairs of her life, there are no traces

of it, nor of the circumstance which is said to have occasioned it, in her Memoirs; nor does the work in which it first appeared condescend to favour us with any hint of reference to the original authority from which it was derived. These, however, are but strong grounds for suspicion; but the internal evidence of the thing itself seems completely to destroy all chance of its authenticity. The measured construction and the brevity of each individual sentence; the sudden disjunction of the sentences from each other; the double repetition, in so small a space, of the same phrase; and the studied conciseness of the whole; are all evidently creatures of modern taste, and finished samples of that science of composition which had then (I mean when the Countess acquired her habits of writing,) scarcely dawned on English prose. No instance, I think, can be found of the verb "stand" having been used at that time in the sense to which it is applied in this letter, nor was the quaint and coarse word "bully" known but as a substantive. It is vexatious to be obliged to strip this Lady's life of an anecdote so interesting, but it would have been uncandid to insert it without the remarks which I have taken the liberty to make.

The Countess had the happiness to live very long, with few infirmities. Dr. Whitaker states her age to have been eighty-seven, but the inscription on the splendid tomb which had been erected by herself at Appleby expressly informs us that she was born on the thirtieth of January, 1590, and died, at her Castle at Brougham, on the twenty-second of March, 1675. Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, preached a sermon at her funeral, in the dull and conceited strain which then distinguished such orations; from which, however, I will select a single passage, because we have hitherto received no account of her character but from her own pen. "She had," says he, "a clear soul, shining through a vivid body. Her body was durable and healthful, her soul sprightful; of great understanding and judgment; faithful memory, and ready wit. She had early gained a knowledge, as

of the best things, so an ability to discourse in all commendable arts and sciences, as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know. She could discourse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives, in any kind; insomuch that a prime and elegant wit, well seen in all human learning," (Dr. Donne) " is reported to have said of her that she knew well how to discourse of all things, from predestination down to slea-silk. If she had sought fame rather than wisdom possibly she might have been ranked among those wits, and learned of that sex, of whom Pythagoras, or Plutarch, or any of the ancients, have made such honourable mention: but she affected rather to study with those noble Bereans, and those honourable women, who searched the Scriptures daily; and, with Mary, she chose the better part, of learning the doctrine of Christ." The Sermon informs us that she left an account of " the Honours, Descents, Pedigrees, Estates, Titles, and Claims, of her progenitors, comprised, historically and methodically, in three volumes of the larger size." Those who have written of her seem to confound this work with the Memoirs of herself, which have already been spoken of, but the Bishop clearly distinguishes them. Lord Orford says that she wrote Memoirs of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset, which remain in manuscript: This has been, apparently with little reason, doubted by some later writers. Many curious effusions from her busy mind probably remain unknown, and buried among the evidences of her posterity.

This great Countess had by Lord Dorset three sons, who died infants, and two daughters; Margaret, married to John Tufton, Earl of Thanet; and Isabella, to James Compton, Earl of Northampton. By the Earl of Pembroke she had no children.

Engraved by I. S. Agar.

JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

OB. 1682.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Feby 1.1825.

JOHN MAITLAND,

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

This nobleman, who appears so conspicuously in the strange group of ministers to whose mismanagement Charles the second for many years committed the affairs of Scotland, was the eldest son of John, second Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, and first Earl of Lauderdale, by Isabel, second daughter of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, and Chancellor in that country. He was born at Lethington, one of the ancient seats of his family, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1616, and was educated with great care and strictness, as well in the doctrines and discipline of the Kirk as in the learned languages, in which he attained to a remarkable proficiency. He entered early into public life, and joined the covenanters with an apparent zeal, which, though chiefly the effect of a naturally over-heated disposition, was so grateful to the leaders of that party, that they admitted him immediately to their confidence; and finding the character of his talents, as well as of his temper, peculiarly suited to the prosecution of their favourite views, employed him in their most material and secret concerns, particularly with the rebel party in England. Thus in 1643 he was joined with the Earl of Loudon and some others in a commission from the Church of Scotland to insult and embarrass the unhappy Charles, by requesting him to engraft its principles on the ecclesiastical establishment of his own dominions, and by proposing to that end the solemn farce of a conference between certain divines on each side; and in the following year was one of the four commissioners appointed by the Parliament for the Scots at the treaty of Uxbridge, in which he is recorded to have distinguished himself by a vehemence and

obscurity of expression by which the negotiation, probably for the purpose, was considerably retarded. He succeeded to the titles and estates of his family by the death of his father a few weeks before the commencement of that treaty.

From this period to the catastrophe of the tragedy he was constantly a principal actor in those scenes of injustice and hypocrisy which have so deeply disgraced the memory of the persons who then governed his country. He was a party to the detestable bargain by which they sold their King to his English rebels, and among the loudest of those who presently inveighed against the infamy of that transaction. When Charles, after the vicissitudes which succeeded it, was allowed in 1647 a short interval of apparent freedom at Hampton Court, he presented himself to the unhappy Monarch as a friend, and soothed him with assurances of the loyalty and power of Scotland, which waited impatiently for his call to spring into activity. "No men appeared with more confidence here," observes Lord Clarendon, "than the Scottish Commissioners, the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Lauderdale, and the rest, as if they had been the men that contrived his restoration: no men in so frequent whispers with the King: and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent correspondence, that her Majesty very earnestly persuaded the King to trust them, as the only persons who had power and credit to do him service, and to redeem him from the captivity he was in." The result was a secret proposal for a separate treaty with Scotland, dictating to the King even harder terms than his own Parliament had at any time endeavoured to exact from him. Charles for the time refused; but at length, when all other ground of hope was lost, yielded to the pressing instances of Lauderdale, and signed the articles on the twenty-sixth of December, in his prison of Carisbroke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, consenting, among many other bitter conditions, to subject the Church throughout his dominions to the provisions of the covenant; while the Scots, on their part,

stipulated to raise an army for the invasion of England, and to use all other endeavours to restore him to his throne. This treaty, or rather a compact entered into by several eminent Scots to carry it into effect, is usually referred to in Scottish history by the denomination of "the Engagement."

Lauderdale now returned to his country, and, to do him justice, seems to have endeavoured with vigour and sincerity to serve the cause which he had thus pledged himself to support. After a short stay there he was sent to Holland, to press the Prince of Wales to put himself immediately at the head of the army, in conformity to an article in the treaty, and executed his commission with so much of that heat and insolence which were natural to him as to thwart in a great measure the object for which he had accepted it. In the mean time the Scottish army, which had marched into England, was defeated; and having been informed on his return to the coast that the Parliament of Scotland, terrified at the disaster, had condemned the Engagement, and denounced penalties on those who had taken it, put back without disembarking, and, more from necessity than affection, again joined the Prince's little Court at the Hague. There he remained, perplexing its measures by his prejudices and private resentments, particularly against the gallant and loyal Montrose, who had also taken refuge there, till some time after the murther of Charles the first, when the Kirk and Council of Scotland, having thought fit to send an invitation to the young King, Lauderdale, among others, attended him thither. The party however which then governed, formed of that outrageous class of covenanters to whom royalty, even under the most severe modifications, was secretly even more hateful than episcopacy, peremptorily insisted on his quitting Charles's presence, and he fled to a place of concealment, to avoid a prosecution for the active part which he had taken in the Engagement. The meeting of a new Parliament curbed in some degree the fury of this party, and the prohibition was relaxed. He was suffered to come to the Court, and Charles,

surrounded only by persons justly odious to him, insensibly formed a sort of attachment to the individual from whom he had received the fewest injuries. Lauderdale presently after accompanied the King on his march into England, at the head of a Scottish army; was taken prisoner in the battle of Worcester; and confined in the Tower of London, and other places, for the nine succeeding years.

He was at length liberated by Monk, in March, 1660, and once more presented himself at the Hague to the King, who was preparing to ascend his throne, and to settle the plan of his government. Charles had determined that the affairs of Scotland should be committed to the direction of natives of that country, and it contained few who could expect any share of his confidence; fewer who had any claim on his gratitude, or hope from his affection. Lauderdale, who, in addition to the negative merit which had formerly attracted the King's notice, had now the endurance of a rigorous persecution and tedious confinement to plead for him, became a candidate for his favour, and obtained it with little difficulty. Charles, almost immediately after the restoration, appointed him to the office in Scotland of Secretary of State; and those of President of the Council, first Commissioner of the Treasury, an extraordinary Lord of Session, a Lord of the Bedchamber, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle, were soon after conferred on him. The chief power of the government was whimsically divided between him and the Earls of Middleton and Rothes, who were as earnest for episcopacy as Lord Lauderdale for the covenant, and the period of their joint administration passed in an unceasing contention, in which the latter at length prevailed. Middleton was disgraced in 1662, and Rothes in 1667, when Lauderdale attained to the most absolute dominion over Scotland that had ever been exercised by any subject.

The commencement of his rule was not only mild but patriotic, and he acquired considerable popularity. He procured for the Scots, by persuading Charles of their loyalty, the demolition of

the fortresses which Cromwell had built and garrisoned in most parts of the country; he opposed, though ineffectually, all attempts to re-establish the hierarchy, which produced a high opinion of his consistency, while his arguments with Charles on the subject were in fact urged only on the score of political views; and thus he endeared himself at once to Scotland and to the King, by impressing on the one a belief of his entire devotion to the kirk, and on the other, a notion of his indifference to all but its temporal influence. He prevented the establishment, devised by Lord Clarendon, of a Scottish Privy Council to sit in London, asserting the peril in which such a measure must involve the religion and laws of Scotland: above all, he shielded from punishment the multitude of his countrymen who had drawn the sword against the late King. In all these, and in many other respects, he acted in direct opposition to Charles's inclination, yet his favonr daily increased. Historical speculatists have solved this difficulty by averring that he had secretly promised the King to aid him to the utmost in his endeavours to attain to arbitrary power, and had persuaded him that these indulgencies to Scotland would tend to that effect.

Nor is this by any means an extravagant conjecture; for from the year 1669, when he was appointed the King's High Commissioner to the Parliament, the sole object of his administration seems to have been the support and advancement of the royal prerogatives. To qualify himself for this pursuit, he appears to have given way to a complete political regeneration. His principles, his prejudices, his obstinacy, inasmuch as related to the affairs of the Church and State, at once forsook him, and he alternately flattered and vilified, courted and persecuted, episcopalians and presbyterians, whigs and tories, as he could render them by turns subservient to the will of his master. In return for these unworthy sacrifices Charles loaded him with dignities. On the second of May, 1672, he was created Marquis of March and Duke of Lauderdale; on the second of the following June,

a Knight of the Garter; and on the twenty-fifth of June, 1674, he was advanced to the peerage of England by the titles of Viscount Petersham and Earl of Guilford, and, about the same time admitted into the English Privy Council. He now attached himself to the measures of those four ministers who by his accession to their party enabled their adversaries to designate them by the reproachful word "Cabal," composed of the initial letters of their several names, and, outstripping them all in the race of tyranny and corruption, rendered himself presently as odious and as formidable in England, as he had long been in his own country, which he still misgoverned with the most uncontrolled licence.

At length, in 1680, his credit was observed to decline. The Cabal was broken up, and his authority, and his intrigues, were now in a great measure confined once more to Scotland, which was visited in that year by the Duke of York. That Prince, to whom he had been long distasteful, had lately conceived a bitter hatred to him for having given his vote as a Peer of England against the unfortunate Viscount Stafford. James openly countenanced the party which had long endeavoured to ruin him, and probably prevailed on the King, by whom their efforts had been hitherto rendered ineffectual, to abandon him. Early in the year 1682 he was dismissed from all his offices, and even the pensions which had been granted to him and his Duchess, were taken from them. "All these things," says Burnet, "together with a load of age, and a vast bulk, so sunk him that he died that summer. His heart seemed quite spent. There was not left above the bigness of a walnut of firm substance: the rest was spungy; liker the lungs than the heart." His death happened at Tunbridge, on the twenty-fourth of August in that year, and he was buried at Haddington.

That Prelate has left us a character of him, drawn with such life and freshness, that, however long, will not be thought tedious.—"The Earl of Lauderdale, afterwards made Duke, had been for many years a zealous covenanter, but in the year forty-

seven he turned to the King's interests, and had continued a prisoner all the while after Worcester fight, where he was taken. He was kept some years in the Tower of London, in Portland Castle, and in other prisons, till he was set at liberty by those who called home the King. So he went over to Holland. And, since he continued so long, and, contrary to all men's opinions, in so high a degree of favour and confidence, it may be expected that I should be a little copious in setting out his character, for I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance. He was very big: his hair red, hanging oddly about him. His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to; and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians, ancient and modern, so that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham once called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression; abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him: that would rather provoke him to swear he would never be of another mind. He was to be let alone; and perhaps he would have forgot what he said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend, and the violentest enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. He at first despised wealth; but he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality, and by that means he ran into a vast expense, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind, but he wore these out so entirely that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that

he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him, nor complaint of him, could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against Popery and arbitrary government, and yet, by a fatal train of passions and interests, he made way for the former, and had almost established the latter; and, whereas some by a smooth deportment made the first beginnings of tyranny less discernible and unacceptable, he by the fury of his behaviour heightened the severity of his ministry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquisition, than the legality of justice. With all this he was a presbyterian, and retained his aversion to King Charles the first and his party to his death."

The Duke of Lauderdale was twice married; first, to Anne, second daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Home, by whom he had an only daughter, his sole heir, Anne, married to John Hay, second Marquis of Tweedale. His Duchess was Elizabeth, sole issue of William Murray, Earl of Dysart, which title she enjoyed by descent. By this lady, remarkable for her talents and her gallantries, he had no children.

Engraved by W. Freeman.

HENEAGE FINCH, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

OB. 1682.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

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HENEAGE FINCH,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

HENEAGE FINCH, a most eminent lawyer, a celebrated orator, and an earnest, though honest, supporter of what were called the measures of the court in the reign of Charles the second, was born on the twenty-third of December, 1621. He sprung from a family already ennobled and powerful, his grandmother, Elizabeth, only child and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage, a Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth, who had amassed great wealth by the long possession of many lucrative offices, having been raised to the peerage by James the first, and in the following reign advanced to the title of Countess of Winchelsea. Sir Heneage Finch, also a celebrated lawyer, and Speaker of the House of Commons in the First Parliament of Charles the first, the fourth son of that lady, by her husband, Sir Moyle Finch, married Frances, daughter of Sir Edmund Bell, of Beaupré Hall, in Norfolk, and the subject of this memoir was their first born son.

His education was suited to his rank, first in Westminster school, and afterwards at Christ Church in Oxford. He became a gentleman commoner of that college in 1635, and removed from thence to study the laws in the Inner Temple, where he was so much distinguished by his acuteness and assiduity that he carried with him to the bar no small degree of reputation. He contented himself there during the usurpation with an extensive private practice: indeed no man was less likely to be employed, or even tolerated, by the rebel government, for the whole of his family had been eminently loyal: his kinsman, Sir John Finch, Lord Keeper in the beginning of the troubles, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the popular party, and had fled to the

continent to avoid the vengeance of its leaders; and his first cousin, Heneage, second Earl of Winchelsea, was well known to be in the confidence of the exiled King. These circumstances, as might naturally be expected, joined to the high professional character that he had acquired, recommended him powerfully to the favour of Charles the second, who, immediately after the restoration, named him for the post of Solicitor General, to which he was appointed on the sixth of June, 1660, and on the following day was created a Baronet. In the succeeding April he was elected to serve in Parliament for the University of Oxford. These promotions did not withdraw him from his services to the learned society in which he had received his legal education. He had already filled in succession most of the offices in the municipal establishment of the Inner Temple, and, in the autumn of 1661, distinguished himself in that of reader, by a lecture of uncommon excellence on the statute of the thirty-ninth of Elizabeth, for the recovery of the debts of the Crown, a subject which had never before been so discussed. Anthony Wood mentions the ceremonies by which this reading was attended, inferring, doubtless, that the splendor of the feasts, and of the guests, was to be considered as a mark of respect to the reader. "The first day's entertainment," says Wood, was of divers Peers of the realm, and Privy Counsellors, with many other of his noble friends: the second, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and chief citizens of London; the third, of the whole College of Physicians, who all came in their caps and gowns: the fourth was of another long robe; for all the Judges and Advocates, Doctors of the civil law, and all the society of Doctor's Commons: the fifth was of the Archbishops, Bishops, and chief of the clergy; and the last, which was on the fifteenth of August, was of the King, Duke of York, Lord Chancellor, most of the Peers, and great officers of Court, the Lords Commissioners of Scotland and Ireland," &c. A larger detail of these matters may be found in Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales.

The life of a lawyer who travels little out of the duties of his

profession seldom possesses much historical interest. For many years we hear nothing of Finch but that he gave some umbrage to the learned body which he represented in the House of Commons, by disappointing the hopes, probably founded on somewhat like a promise, of his aid in procuring the abolition of the unpopular impost called hearth-money; and that he supported with great zeal in the Parliament which sat at Oxford in 1665 the bill which afterwards obtained the name of the five mile act, by which all silenced ministers were required to take an oath, "declaring that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King, or any commissioned from him; that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of Church or State;" and forbidding such as should refuse that oath to come within five miles of any city, or parliament borough, &c. At length on the tenth of May, 1670, he was appointed Attorney General, and on the ninth of November, 1673, was placed in the office of Keeper of the Great Seal, upon the dismissal of the acute and profligate Shaftesbury. On the tenth of the succeeding January the title of Baron Finch, of Daventry, in the County of Northampton, was conferred on him; and on the nineteenth of December, 1675, he resigned the Seal to the King for the purpose of again immediately receiving it, with the title of Lord High Chancellor. In the course of the same year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset.

In 1677 he sat as Lord High Steward of England on the trial of Philip Earl of Pembroke, as he did in 1680 on that of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, on which latter occasion the speech in which he pronounced judgement on that unfortunate nobleman was esteemed a model of eloquence. We have in the history of that year a remarkable instance of his prudence, and presence of mind, in the management of an affair of peculiar delicacy. Charles had granted a pardon to the impeached Earl of Danby, and the Commons, in a flame, deputed a Committee to demand of the Chancellor an account of the circumstances under which it had

passed. He answered, with much simplicity, that the King had commanded him to bring the Seal to Whitehall, and that having arrived there, he laid it on a table, whereupon his Majesty, having written his name at the top of the parchment, ordered that the Seal should be taken out of the purse, and applied to the instrument, which was accordingly done, by the officer who usually carried the purse; "and this," said the Chancellor, "I was obliged to submit to because it was not in my power to hinder it." Thus he shifted to the King his responsibility, and connived at a measure directly opposite to the inclination of the Commons, without materially offending either. Charles indeed gave him at this precise time a clear proof of favour and confidence by committing chiefly to him the nomination of a Privy Council, formed on new principles; a measure which he so highly approved that he declared "it looked like a thing fallen from heaven into his Majesty's breast." His health was then declining, and we do not after that period find his name peculiarly connected with any public affair which has claimed the notice of history. On the twelfth of May, 1681, his services were finally rewarded by a grant of the dignity of Earl of Nottingham; and on the eighteenth of December, in the following year, he died at his house in Queen Street, Covent Garden, and was buried at Raunston, near Olney, in Buckinghamshire.

This nobleman's public life might have exhibited more events had his character involved fewer perfections. Honest, prudent, loyal, calm, and decorous, he stood in security amidst the political agitations which unhappily distinguished his time; firm, without obstinacy; yielding, without meanness; and decently ambitious, without provoking jealousy. His memory has had the rare good fortune to be cherished by writers of all parties. Wood, whose pen was seldom employed in adulation, tells us that, "in the most boisterous and ticklish times, when the swoln waves beat highest, occasioned by the Popish plot, he behaved himself with so regular, exactly poised, and with such even steadiness, whilst

others, whose actions not being so exactly balanced, either were discharged from their offices, or else they themselves by an ungenerous cowardice voluntarily resigned them up, as unwilling manfully to encounter approaching difficulties of which they pretended to have prospects, that he still stood firm in the good opinion of his Prince; and, which is more to be admired, at that time, when many worthy ministers of state were by the malice of designing men branded with the old infamous character of evil counsellors, in order to have them to be run down and worried by the violent outrages of the unthinking, giddy, and headstrong multitude, he was neither bandied against, or censured in the more private seditious cabals, nor was his master publicly addressed to for his removal." Burnet, the only author who has breathed an adverse censure on him, says, "he was a man of probity, and well versed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence, but it was laboured and affected, and he saw it as much despised before he died. He had no sort of knowledge in foreign affairs, and yet he loved to talk of them perpetually, by which he exposed himself to those who understood them. He thought he was bound to justify the Court in all debates in the House of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader, rather than with the solemnity of a senator. He was an incorrupt judge, and in his Court he could resist the strongest applications, even from the King himself, though he did it nowhere else. He was too eloquent on the bench, in the House of Lords, and in common conversation." Yet Burnet, with an inconsistency not unfrequent with him, says in another place, "His great parts, and greater virtues, are so conspicuous, that it would be a high presumption in me to say any thing in his commendation." Tate, in his second part of the poem of Absalom and Achitophel, devoted to him this grand and beautiful eulogium—

"Our list of nobles next let Amri grace,
Whose merits claim'd the Abethdin's high place;
Who, with a loyalty that did excel,
Brought all th' endowments of Achitophel.

> Sincere was Amri, and not only knew,
> But Israel's sanctions into practice drew :
> Our laws, that did a boundless ocean seem,
> Were coasted all, and fathom'd all, by him.
> No Rabbin speaks like him their mystic sense ;
> So just, and with such terms of eloquence ;
> To whom the double blessing does belong—
> With Moses' inspiration Aaron's tongue."

Lord Orford, in his devotion to whiggism, observes, and with what degree of justice let the reader determine, that Wood, in the passages quoted above, "represents him as a great temporizer." But his Lordship could not help adding that, "though he certainly offended neither the Court or the patriots, if he had shewn great partiality to the latter, there is no doubt but the King would have dismissed him, being by no means so dangerous a man as his predecessor, Shaftesbury. That his complaisance for the prerogative was not unbounded was manifest by the King being obliged to set the Seal himself to the Earl of Danby's pardon. The truth is," adds the noble biographer, "that the Earl of Nottingham was neither violent nor timid : when he pronounced sentence on the Lord Viscount Stafford, he did not scruple to say 'Who can doubt now that London was burned by the Papists ?' Burnet calls this declaration indecent: if it was so to the unhappy convict, it was certainly no flattery to the predominant faction at Court," &c.

Many of his professional remains may be found scattered in various books. His speeches and discourses on the trials of the regicides, when he was Solicitor General, are in more than one edition of those proceedings ; his speech on passing judgement on Lord Stafford is in the State Trials : several uttered by him in Parliament, between the years 1672 and 1680, and several answers to addresses presented to the King, at Hampton Court, in 1681, are also in print. The arguments on which he founded his decree in a great cause between the Hon. Charles Howard and Henry, Duke of Norfolk, and others, forming a folio volume of some size, were published three years after his death ; and he left a large

collection of Chancery Reports, in manuscript, which it may be presumed yet remain with his noble descendants.

The Earl of Nottingham married Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Harvey, a merchant of London, by whom he had fourteen children, of whom Daniel, the eldest, was the ancestor of the Earls of Winchelsea and Nottingham; and Heneage, the second, of the Earls of Aylesford. The younger sons were William, bred to the law; Charles, Edward, and Henry, clergymen; Robert, Edward, John, and Thomas, who died unmarried; the three latter in their father's life-time. His daughters were Elizabeth, married to Samuel, son and heir to Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls; Mary, and Anne, who died, probably infants, before their father; and another Mary, who died unmarried, having survived till 1735.